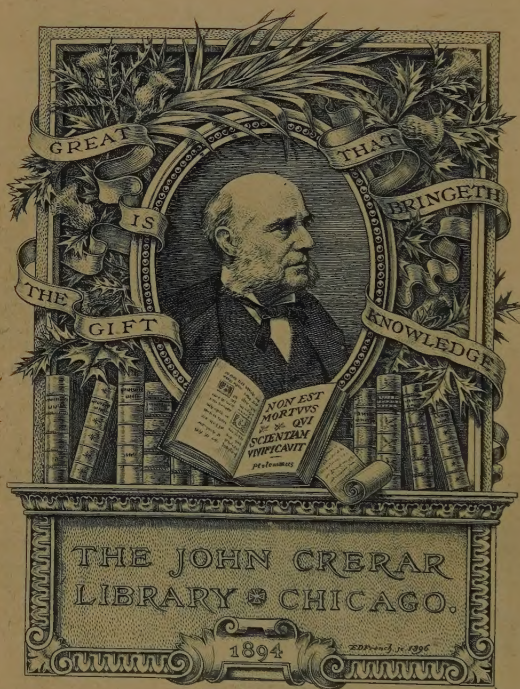


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# THE SOCIAL DOCTRINE OF THE SERMON ON THE MOUNT = = =

BY CHARLES GORE, D.D.  
BISHOP OF BIRMINGHAM

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**T**HIS Union consists of Members of the Church of England who have the following objects at heart :—

1. To claim for the Christian law the ultimate authority to rule social practice.
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3. To present Christ in practical life as the living Master and King, the enemy of wrong and selfishness, the power of righteousness and love.



# THE SOCIAL DOCTRINE

## OF THE

# SERMON ON THE MOUNT

THE Bible is, as a literature, unrivalled in giving expression to the true relation of the society to the individual. It presents an ideal of Christian, i.e. truly human, society in which the social pressure and the reaction of the individual character and conscience are in a just equilibrium. It emphasizes authority over the individual man. It emphasizes also the sanctity of the individual personality, the inalienable responsibilities and rights of the individual, as a being of action and of thought.<sup>1</sup> The Roman Church may have emphasized the element of authority in the New Testament, and Protestantism the element of liberty, but, in fact, both are there, to receive

<sup>1</sup> For the authority of the Church over the individual, see S. Matt. xvi. 19; xviii. 18, where the "binding" and "loosing" is the action of legislative authority; S. John xx. 23, where the forgiving and retaining sins is the action of disciplinary authority as applied to persons. The legislative authority is exhibited in action in Acts xv. 28, 29; 1 Cor. vii, viii; 1 Tim. ii-v, etc.; the disciplinary in Acts v. 1-11; 1 Cor. v, ("judging those within"); 2 Cor. ii. 5-11; Titus iii. 10, etc.

On the other hand, our Lord's method with men exhibits the very opposite of a despotic form of authority; see the Bampton Lectures of 1891 on *The Incarnation of the Son of God* (John Murray), Lect. viii. He shows the profoundest respect for individuality: He makes the deepest requirements on personal effort in apprehending truth. Again, there is in the New Testament a constant recognition of the capacity of *all men* to rise to full Christian knowledge (Col. i. 28; 1 S. John ii. 20), and of the independence of the "spiritual man" (1 Cor. ii. 15). A moderate ideal of the exercise of authority is exhibited in such passages as 2 Tim. ii. 23-26. There is a constant appeal to "the tradition," to reason, and to conscience, rather than to discipline *per se*. There is a frank respect for legitimate liberty as expressed in Rom. xiv, and a dread of not merely Jewish ordinances, but all such ordinances as represent a Judaic bondage (Col. ii. 16-23).

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frank and adequate recognition. Both are there, because already, outside the region in which Christ is known, both are elements in the moral progress of mankind. The moral conscience, as S. Paul describes it in those who "have no law" (*Rom.* ii. 15), is both social and individual; it is an individual "conscience bearing witness" to the moral will of God, and "mutual reasonings" among men "accusing or else excusing" one another—that is, a social conscience brought to bear upon the individual.

Man, then, is social and individual. And a man on the way of redemption, a believer in Christ, is an individual member of a great society, or kingdom—the Catholic Church; under the authority of the Church with its powers of legislation and discipline—its power of the keys, its authority to bind and loose,—but not under its authority in an arbitrary sense; because its authority extends only to applying the law of its Master, Whom the man's own conscience has recognized and adored, and Who Himself exhibited so careful a respect for human individuality.

I am concerned now, not with the wide subject of Christian authority and liberty, but with a particular form of Christian authority, namely, the authority which the Church ought to exercise in matters of social morality; and that, with special reference to the Sermon on the Mount considered as supplying the fundamental moral law of our Lord's kingdom.

The Church at large, and each national or local Church, is to be a society binding and loosing in the name of Christ: that is—so far as concerns morality—adapting Christ's moral teaching to the circumstances of each age and place; declaring this to be lawful and that to be unlawful; and applying these abstract principles to individuals in moral discipline, admitting this one and excluding that one, suffering this one to continue in the privilege of membership and refusing to suffer that one, absolving and retaining sins. This ecclesiastical discipline in matters of morality has mainly, in later Church history, and among ourselves, come to be—when it has been exercised at all—a private matter; and we have had, in this respect, much controversy in the English Church about the rightful



position of confession to a priest, penance and absolution. But in this discussion, as to one application of Church discipline, the primary principle has become obscured. We take sides as to the function of the priesthood in the matter, or the danger of priestcraft, and leave out of sight what is the prior question—viz., the prerogative and duty of the Church as a society.

No one, with his eye on the New Testament and the earliest records of the Church, can deny that the Church was, and was by Christ intended to be, a society with a common moral law, which was to be constantly and authoritatively reapplied by way of legislation in general principle, and applied by way of discipline to individuals, in admitting them or refusing to admit them into the Christian society, retaining or refusing to retain them in membership.

This function of the Church in moral legislation for its members has been lamentably obscured: in part because, in the concentration of interest in the Western Church upon the discipline of the confessional, casuistry, which is the application of the general law to particular cases, has been developed almost entirely with a view to absolving individuals. It has thus become—necessarily, indeed, and rightly for its own right purposes—not an enunciation of how Christ would have men act, but rather a statement of the minimum requirement, the easiest terms on which a priest can give absolution to a penitent; or even, when misused, an attempt to evade the plain meaning of the moral law so as to keep slack consciences within the terms of Christian communion. "The first object," writes Macaulay, truly of certain Jesuit casuists, "was to drive no person out of the pale of the Church. Since there were bad people, it was better they should be bad Catholics than bad Protestants. If a person was even . . . a bravo, a libertine, or a gambler, there was no reason for making him a heretic too." The solemn words of Bishop Butler's sermon *Upon the Character of Balaam* have their application to the Church, as to the individual conscience, "Those courses, which, if men would fairly attend to the dictates of their own consciences, they would see to be corruption, excess, oppression, uncharit-

ableness; these are refined upon—things were so and so circumstantiated—great difficulties are raised about fixing bounds and degrees; and thus every moral obligation may be evaded. There is scope, I say, for an unfair mind to explain away every moral obligation to itself.”

Amongst ourselves, the disastrous identification of Church and State, which has allowed the Church to lose its free legislative functions within its own sphere, has altogether obscured, among ordinary Church people, the sense that there is a social law binding upon their consciences—as in matters of matrimony or of commercial dealings—which is distinct from, and which goes beyond, the law of the State.

How are we to set about applying a remedy to this evil? In the way in which it has been actually in great measure remedied in other departments of Church life. The distinctive theological doctrines of the Church have largely, in recent years, come to be recognized afresh through the voluntary combination of Churchmen to assert their principles and put them into practice. The same course must be pursued in regard to the Christian moral law. We must get genuine Christians together to think out for themselves, and formulate for their own guidance the moral law of Christ, as applied to modern conditions. Then a clearer Christian public opinion will form itself, and it will prevail among Churchmen, as theological opinion has prevailed; and the Church will stand out again, in the public eye, as a body which has a clearly understood moral code, for politics and business and society, as it has a clearly understood creed. This is, at any rate, the preliminary step towards the revival of legitimate discipline. At present, we have a great many earnest followers of Jesus Christ in all classes of society, but no adequate organization of Christian moral opinion.

There is, indeed, in some matters of public policy, external or internal, a vigorous “nonconformist conscience,” on the opium trade, for instance; there is a vigorous Church conscience, as on other subjects, so especially on the pastoral care for souls and on the relief of the poor; but there is not an adequate organization of Christian moral opinion, or, specially,



of Church opinion, on such matters as concern the life of commerce, or the distribution of wealth, on the principle of justice, or the mutual obligations of classes to one another. I will return to this subject before I conclude.

Let us, then, who wish to be servants of Jesus Christ at whatever cost, because there is nothing else in the world worth being, place ourselves again at the feet of our Master, as He sits conspicuous upon the mount and opens His mouth to teach us the moral law of His kingdom. This can be done only by constant and zealous private meditation on His words. But I would endeavour now to call your attention, first, to what seem to be some leading principles in His moral *method*, and, secondly, to some leading features in the moral *contents* of His doctrine.

# I

## (a) Our Lord demands, not conduct merely, but character.

He says, not "Blessed is he who does this or that," but "Blessed is such and such a character." But, on the other hand, the character is described as it finds expression in particular, detailed acts—"turning the left cheek," "giving the cloak also," etc. Many considerations require us to interpret these acts in their principle, not in their details. Thus, for instance, no man has ever struck me on my right cheek, as far as I remember; or taken my coat; or compelled me to go a mile on the public service; but I am not therefore free hitherto from the observance of these precepts. They express principles. But—this is what I want to emphasize—our Lord expresses the principle in the detail, and this means that He requires the Christian character to find expression in like acts, as overt, as definite, as detailed. The vast danger is that we should avail ourselves of a popular misinterpretation of S. Paul's language, and observe these precepts, as we say, "in the spirit,"—which is practically not at all in the actual details of life. Christ bids us do particular, overt, characteristic acts, such as express publicly, though not with publicity as our motive, the inward fact that we are not anxious about our own interests, and that we are trampling on our pride. Therefore we must apply Christ's

teaching in detail to the circumstances of our day. This may be said to constitute in great measure the prophetic or preaching office of the Church. But, in fact, the preacher is usually content with generalities. Why? In part, no doubt, because he lacks courage to say what will be disagreeable to his congregation. In part, also, from the more respectable motive—that he is afraid to make ignorant suggestions which will do harm. A curate fresh to the country, distressed with the amount of agricultural work he found going on on Sunday, once suggested to his flock that they might at least be content with milking their cows *once* on the Sunday. We are afraid to make like mistakes in speaking on the morality of business or of traffic in stock. We want more exact moral knowledge. For the sake of brevity, let me leap to a conclusion which will make my drift apparent. It is that we need consultation among small bodies of representative Christians, who know exactly what life means in schools and colleges, in athletic contests, in business, in workshops, in political life, in law courts, so that a central public conscience of the Church may be deliberately formed as to the sort of typical acts and refusals to act in which the Christian spirit must exhibit itself in the various situations of life.

(b) **Our Lord lays down laws for a kingdom, a society;** but He seeks the establishment of the society through the sanctification of the individual, according to the law "For their sakes I sanctify myself," and in view of the fact that each man, as "fallen," needs individual regeneration and sanctification before he can enter upon his heritage of sonship and brotherhood. Thus, in the Sermon on the Mount, our Lord aims at a social end by laying a severe claim on the individual character. This is, I think, the explanation of the difficulties presented by such a passage as chap. v. 38-42:—

"Ye have heard that it was said, An eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth: but I say unto you, Resist not him that is evil: but whosoever smiteth thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also. And if any man would go to law with thee, and take away thy coat, let him have thy cloke also. And whosoever shall compel thee to go one mile, go with him



twain. Give to him that asketh thee, and from him that would borrow of thee turn not thou away."

"Surely," people say, "society would be undone if I gave simply to him that asked me, or rewarded the thief by bestowing on him more than he had taken, like 'le bon évêque, Bienvenu.'" The answer is: Our Lord is here laying His requirement primarily on the individual life considered apart. Elsewhere He provides for the social good, as such, as where He bids the offended brother carry his complaint first to the offender; then, if his conscience is not awakened, to a small group of Christians; at last, to the whole Christian body; and to proceed to an extremity in exacting and expressing moral judgment upon the wrong-doer (*S. Matt.* xviii. 15-18). But this social judgment can only safely be put into practice by individuals who are themselves rising above the motives of personal pride or self-seeking. Therefore, in any sphere where the individual profit or pride is concerned, or so far as in any transaction those considerations alone are concerned, we are to simply suppress our selfish selves, and "lay ourselves in the dust to them that go over." When we are, in this sense, really meek personally, we can safely execute the Divine wrath socially, that is, we can be worthy, effective members of the kingdom of God.

**Thus, throughout the Sermon on the Mount, our Lord is aiming at a social end, mainly through the elimination of selfishness, in its various forms of lust, pride, greed, ambition, censoriousness, out of the individual character.**

Thus Christian effort for social improvement must always have its stronghold in the regeneration and sanctification of individual characters. True, there are social works which can be carried out without regard to this. When Lazarus was to be raised from the dead, it was the life-giving word of Christ alone which could impart life; but before it could find access to the tomb the stone had to be taken away: "Take ye away the stone." Which things are an allegory. Christ alone, in direct, quickening grace, can restore the moral health of individuals, but there are preliminary obstacles to its influence to be removed. Bad dwellings, inadequate wages, inadequate educa-

tion, inability to use leisure—these are stones which lie upon the graves of men spiritually dead. We must take away the stones. Only we shall not exaggerate what merely external reform is likely to accomplish. The real obstacle to social advance is selfishness or sin. No external reform will remove this. Nothing but the conversion of souls from self to GOD. Real social reform, then, will proceed, not by the method of majorities, but from small groups of sanctified men, like the Apostles ; and that is, in very truth, “the secret of Jesus.”

(c) **Our Lord here is speaking to the Church, not to the State.** He is founding a Society which is to subsist on moral sanctions, not material. If it is a socialism that is being established, it is a socialism of free choice, not State compulsion. It is true that this Christian society or brotherhood must needs have had an immense influence on State life: it must needs have become the very soul of the States among which it spread—as in fact, the early Christians boasted that they were the soul of the empire. It must needs have become this, if for no other reason, then because the greater the number of individuals who have trampled on selfishness, and who seek the kingdom of God and His righteousness, the easier becomes the process of legislation. So that, if all citizens were real Christians, legislation would be in abeyance, for heaven would become—

“Where love is an unerring light,  
And joy its own security.”

But great as must needs have been the influence of Christianity upon the State and the obligation of Christians to the State, it is none the less true that Christ is legislating for a distinct society ; not for humanity as it is, but for the humanity of redemption, “the brotherhood,” the Church. The reason of this method is sufficiently plain. The fact is that, because humanity is spoiled by sin, it must be given a fresh start from a new centre, even Jesus Christ, Who is the second Adam. The Church, where men are in very truth sons and brothers, is to be a sphere hedged in and kept distinct ; a sphere wherein is realized what human life is meant to be, and, rightly dealt with, is capable of becoming. This is meant to



have a double result. On the one hand, that Christians may learn from "love of the brethren," i.e., love in the narrower and select society, the wider love of man—as S. Peter expresses it (2 *S. Pet.* i. 7), "In your love of the brethren supply love"; on the other hand, that the world may find in the Church "a city set on an hill," a "light" to show it what human life may really be, a "salt" to keep it from corruption. That the Church is not the State and the State not the Church, is a truth we cannot realize too clearly. The Church, in fact, can only do its duty to the State, as salt or light, when its distinctiveness is kept in clear recognition. False methods of diffusion—attempts, like our Anglican attempt, to merge the Church in the State—have done incalculable harm. We must recall ourselves to the scriptural principle—which, I may add, is quite consistent with an ecclesiastical establishment, though some particular forms of establishment have somewhat imperilled it—we must emphasize the fundamental distinctiveness of the Church as a general truth.

And we are to apply this principle in single parishes and districts of human life by endeavouring to concentrate Church feeling, and to accentuate its moral meaning and requirements; we are really to "correct its tendency to diffusiveness," if diffusiveness is to be purchased at the cost of intensity. "Ye are the salt of the earth"—a salt which purifies by distinctiveness, which influences by dissimilarity, which keeps up health by emphatic savour. I would strive that the Church in every parish should represent, not such and such a number of adherents, but the morally best, be they many or be they few, in every class; or, to put it more truly, those who are honestly striving after moral excellence, and ready to make sacrifices in its interests. The Church is not to represent public opinion, but to be the home of the best moral conscience of the community.

Upon "State Socialism" the Sermon on the Mount appears to have no direct bearing. It does not suggest that unselfishness is to be secured by any other than methods of moral pressure. But, on the other hand, the State is regarded by S. Paul as entrusted with the administration of divine justice,

and the officers of the imperial administration are regarded by him as bearing a priesthood of divine service: they are "God's ministers" to "attend continually upon this very thing" (*Rom. xiii. 1-7*).

## II

If we turn from the moral method of our Lord to the *social principle* which the Sermon on the Mount expresses, we find it to be what may be broadly expressed as *the principle of the sonship and brotherhood of man as based on the Fatherhood of God*.

It is worth while pausing to notice how this great principle has the advantage of inclusiveness. Mr. Leslie Stephen, at the beginning of his *Science of Ethics*, rightly reminds us that a true theory is able to account for the prevalence of partial and even false systems, by bringing to light and giving scope for the element of truth which each contains. This note of a true theory is stamped upon the Christian ethics. The truth of individual hedonism—the truth that each single individual claims by an ineradicable instinct his own self-realization, his own happiness—Christianity recognizes: each man is to "come into possession of his own life"; he is "to see of the travail of his soul, and be satisfied"; he is to "save his life." The truth, again, of the older utilitarianism—that "each man counts for one, and nobody for more than one"—is at the heart of Christianity. The Christian is "to love his neighbour as himself," because "with God is no respect of persons." The principle, again, of modern evolutionist moralists, the recognition of the social organism, the search for the equilibration of the society and the individual—who can fail to find in this an echo of that language about the "one body" which Christianity at least made its own from the first? Once again, and for the last time, there is nothing upon which idealists spend themselves, so far as positive principles go, nothing in idealism, from the "hymn of Cleanthes" to the *Prolegomena to Ethics*, which Christianity does not fairly and strictly embrace. The worth and claims of the individual, the worth and claims of the society, the supra-social dignity and authority of the

moral law,<sup>1</sup>—all this is of the fabric of Christian ethics. But it has an altogether new pulse of life sent through it when the Fatherhood of God comes into recognition to make practicable a belief in the brotherhood of man, and give meaning to the sense of personal obligation in the relation of sons to a Father. I do not think that we bring out strongly enough the strength of the Christian ethical principle, considered philosophically, from the power which it has to account for more partial theories, and to integrate them into a completer whole which can make a more living appeal to human wills and hearts. But I must not do more than touch upon a subject capable of much expansion.

The fundamental Christian principle involves, among others, three subordinate principles, which shall be noticed here.

(a) **The principle of justice**—that each individual man is an end, and not a mere means; or, that each man counts for one, and nobody for more than one, to state the principle as Kant and Bentham respectively stated it. This principle of justice was admirably interpreted by Dr. Rashdall in the *Economic Review* for October, 1891. It means, not equal position for each—for men are by nature inevitably unequal in capacity, and therefore in position—but equal consideration for each, free opportunity for each to realize his nature, to become what God meant him to be. Our neighbour is what we are, a child of

<sup>1</sup> There is a magnificent expression of this principle in a fragment of Cicero, *De Republica*, which is so little known that I venture to quote it. "There is a true law which is right reason, agreeable to nature, diffused among all men, constant, eternal, which calls us to duty by its injunctions, and by its prohibitions deters us from wrong; which upon the good lays neither injunction nor prohibition in vain; while for the bad, neither its injunctions nor its prohibitions avail at all. This law admits neither of addition nor subtraction nor abrogation. The vote of neither senate nor people can discharge us from our obligation to it. We are not to look for some other person to expound or interpret it; nor will there be one law for Rome and another for Athens, nor one at this date and another later on; but one law shall embrace all races over all time, eternal and immortal; and there shall be hereby one common master and commander of all—God, who originated this law, and proposed it and arbitrates concerning it; and if any one obeys it not, he shall play false to himself, and shall do despite to the nature of man, and by this very fact shall pay the greatest penalties, even if he should escape all else that is reckoned punishment."



God, and to be loved with the same considerateness as we rightly give to ourselves. "All things therefore whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, even so do ye also unto them."

This principle of justice is one which is not approximately realized in what we call Christian society at present. It is comparatively few men who have a real opportunity of work and remuneration, according to their faculties, of spiritual knowledge, of legitimate education, physical and moral. Yet this every Christian ought to be able to claim, including what, without Christianity, he cannot have—the true knowledge of God and of His provision for man. Till this is secured, in the Christian society in its completeness, and in society as a whole as far as it falls within State functions, the Christian must not rest. But that gives us a great deal to do, through Parliament, through County Councils, as also by more directly ecclesiastical methods.

(b) **The principle of trust in God's Fatherhood**—God made man, and desires impartially man's good. "He maketh His sun to rise on the evil and on the good: and sendeth rain on the just and on the unjust." So long as a man is doing his duty, God will provide for him, as for the birds of the air and the flowers of the field. Now, the birds and the plants accumulate to-day the resources which are to serve them hereafter. The birds could not hatch their eggs if they had not in due time previously built their nests. The flowers could not bring forth their bloom if they had not been accumulating their resources long before. But all this takes place without anxiety. Granted the fulfilling of function day by day, God will provide. The Christian society, then, recognizing this principle in the conscious life of man, is to know the limits of its responsibility. It did not create the world or found the Church. It cannot alter the predestined goal of the world's movement. But it can facilitate or thwart the purpose of God within its own area. The individuals who compose the Church can "lose their own lives" by refusing to co-operate with God or "save them" by taking part with Him. Here, then, is both the reality of responsibility and its limit. All we can do is

joyfully to fulfil our duty and trust the providence of God. This means—only to touch on great subjects—that in commerce we shall resolutely do the will of God and abide by the consequences; in dealing with individuals, we shall not be more merciful than our Master, or attempt, as He did not attempt, to save men in spite of themselves. We shall aim at appealing to men's wills and strengthening their sense of responsibility. We shall not, once more, be afraid of letting truth loose for fear of its causing havoc. We shall be ready to say in our turn, "I am not come to send peace on earth, but a sword."

The Christian has an immense advantage over other social reformers in the "clear knowledge" of God, as revealed in Jesus Christ. It is sometimes suggested that to "seek the face" of God and exactly study His character is to divert the faculties without profit from the really useful end of human improvement—

"... Presume not God to scan:  
The proper study for mankind is man."

What a shallow philosophy! For why is it that we make, in fact, so little social improvement? Why is it we are so falsely, ignobly tolerant of injustice, and selfishness, and lust in society and within ourselves? Why are efforts for the good of man so seldom persevered in through disappointment or so frequently allowed to degenerate into effortless routine? Why? In a word, because we do not think enough about God. If we constantly and systematically gazed up at Him, and let His inexorable holiness, His truth, His beauty, His love, His power—more than all, the claim of His Fatherhood over us His sons, penetrate our whole beings we should be more vigorous and persevering in moral effort—ay, and more successful. It was the Apostles, who were so full of the vision of God, who turned the world upside down.

(c) **The principle of co-operation, not competition.** In every department of life Christians are to seek the good of all. The Church must carry this principle into all its transactions. It must be, in the fullest sense of the word, spiritually and physically, a profit-sharing company. This means (see 1 *Tim.*

vi. 9) a stern discouragement of the accumulation of wealth except as held consciously on trust for the public good; a strenuous opposition to the development of luxury, as distinct from knowledge and beauty; a constant practical realization of the temper of contentment with sufficient and wholesome food and lodgement, air and clothing, work and leisure, and of the greater blessing of giving as compared to receiving.

The principle of justice or equality of consideration; the principle of God's Fatherhood, deepening and also limiting our responsibilities and our anxieties; the principle of co-operation as contrasted with competition;—these are the main principles, admitting of course of indefinite expansion, which I have only just had time to suggest. Upon these principles the Church is really to act; and in order to this end I return to my earlier suggestion, that we need to concentrate Christian influence; that we need to reorganize definite Christian centres of moral opinion, where Christ's principles are simply acted upon, so that a more concrete impression may be presented to men's mind of what the life of a Christian is in the various legitimate callings of society.

The suggestion may be worked out in detail thus:—

1. We need a careful organization of Christian moral opinion—that is, a new Christian casuistry. The new casuistry will be a formulating in detail of Christian moral duty, with a view to seeing, not how little a Christian need do in order to remain in Church communion, but how a Christian ought to act. It will need combined labour of experienced men, who are before all things Christians, in the different walks of life. I think it would be possible, perhaps for the Christian Social Union, to form small circles of representative men in each district, where special occupations prevail, or within the area of special professions, to draw up a statement of what is wrong in current practice, and of the principles on which Christians ought to act. A central body would meanwhile be formulating with adequate knowledge the general maxims of Christian living. I do not see why ten years' work should not give us a new Christian casuistry, that is a general and applied statement of Christian moral principles. To what better work



could the Christian Social Union devote itself? When it was done by private means, it might come under more official sanction.

2. So far as we have our Christian code now, or are on our way to get it, we shall league ourselves together to observe it. I do desire that the Christian Social Union shall become a widely ramifying league,<sup>1</sup> through all classes, of persons anxious before all else to prove to themselves, and so to others, that they really own Jesus Christ as their moral Master. They would, therefore, be bound to protect one another in cases where loyalty to principle means loss of work. And masters and men anxious to serve Jesus Christ would be drawn together. I believe we under-estimate, not over-estimate, the number of such persons.

3. We should do again what was done in the early monastic movement, as it is represented in S. Basil's rule. We should draw together to centres, both in town and country, where men can frankly start afresh and live openly the common life of the first Christians. This can, of course, be most easily done in the case of those who are deliberately celibate. There is much talk of brotherhoods. Forgive the expression of an ideal. I desire to see formed—not in interference with existing methods—a community of celibate men, living simply, without other life-vows than those of their baptism or (if priests) of their priesthood, the life of the first Christians: a life of combined labour, according to different gifts, on a strongly developed background of prayer and meditation, and with real community of goods, which, of course, would cease in the case of any persons who might leave the community. The details are not difficult to arrange. I have some experience such as warrants a belief that such an ideal may become real. Such a community, “continuing steadfastly in the apostolic doctrine and fellowship, in the breaking of the bread and the prayers, and having all things common,”—such a community would surely be calculated to make men see how holy and happy a thing is Christian life when it can free itself from entanglements and begin again *au pied de la lettre*.

I have been speaking of the unmarried, and I have said that

<sup>1</sup> Originally written in 1892.

the literal reproduction of the earliest Christian community-life is easiest in their case. But the same ideal needs application to married life also. I do not see why such an ideal as the Moravians have, in fact, realized, of companies of married people living by a common rule, should not be of immense power among ourselves. I have spoken of what lies within my own experience, but the principle is applicable to laity as to clergy, and to married as to single.

In a word, what I want to suggest is this. The moment has come for the Church, and more particularly for the Church of England, to put social morality, Christian living, in the forefront of its effort. At present, we are making much too much of the development of the outward exhibition of worship. We trust too much to church building and organizing of "plant." We try too much to "get people to come to church." We want, on the other hand, "to seek first the kingdom of God and His righteousness"; to consolidate Christian moral opinion in each district of Church life; to let it be known what Christian living means; to stand by one another in voluntary league to carry it out; to let its charity, its beauty, its attractiveness, its possibility be more apparent; to silence cynicism a little by drawing together in groups and leagues the life which already exists scattered and in isolation. I am sure I am not unduly optimistic. I hope I am not wholly unpractical.

CHARLES GORE.

PS.—In a brief discussion which followed the reading of the above lecture, I was reminded that, besides the metaphor of "salt," our Lord used also the metaphor of "leaven" to describe the relation of the Church to the world; and that I had left out of sight the lessons which the latter metaphor would convey. There is a sense in which the Church is to merge itself in the society around it. To this I should only reply that it is the teaching of the former metaphor that we in England to-day most imperatively need. The latter we are not in so much danger of ignoring.





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# THE GROUND OF OUR APPEAL

BY

HENRY SCOTT HOLLAND, M.A., D.D.

CANON AND PRECENTOR OF S. PAUL'S

**W**HAT is our ground ; and what is our aim ?

(1) We start from the conviction which has been for so long stamped on every heart that feels, or brain that thinks, **that the time is come to vote urgency for the social question.** It is the needs and necessities of industry which are the motive-powers now at work to mould and direct the fortunes of human society. It is the intolerable situation into which the lower grades of our industrial population now find themselves driven that must force upon us a reconsideration of the economic principles and methods which have such disastrous and terrible results. "There is a social question," and it demands urgency. This, first ; and, secondly—

(2) We are of those who are convinced that **the ultimate solution of this social question is bound to be discovered in the Person and life of Christ.** He is "the Man"; and He must be the solution of all human problems. That is our primal creed. Not only is He, as the "Man of Sorrows," the Brother and Comforter of all who are weary and heavy laden ; not only are the poor His peculiar charge and treasure ; but more than that : He is Himself, in His risen and ascended Royalty, the sum of all human endeavour, the interpretation of all human history, the goal of all human growth, the bond of all human brotherhood. It is in this character that He is kept so little in practical mind ; it is this office of His which is reserved for such an obscure and ineffectual background. He has never failed to be "placarded" before the suffering poor as Jesus Christ, the Crucified. So far, the preaching of the Church has been faithful to its message. But His living Headship, as the Second Adam raised to the right hand of power—as the perfect Son of Man, according to Whose anointed Humanity all judgment will be passed at the Last Day on everything that men have

been or done—this has not been brought to bear, with energy and confidence, upon the actual Society which He, in this lordship sealed to Him, necessarily claims as His own.

It is true that this relationship of His to the social life of men is less obvious and direct than His relationship to their sorrows or their sins, as the Redeemer. For the victory which gained Him this living lordship over all that man is was won by Him, not in the social, or economic, or political, but in the *spiritual* sphere. He redeemed men's souls from sin. That was His primary task; for therein, alone, lay the secret to His future dominion over all. But He rose, not only as the Redeemer of Souls, but as the Head of the whole body, which, now that it was redeemed, entered on a new and richer career, endowed with fuller capacities. He rose to become, by steady extension of His kingdom over the earth, "King of kings and Lord of lords." It is this extension of the fruits of the Passion over the entire surface of human life which we desire to advocate and emphasize. The victory is, indeed, won in the spirit; but its significance is bound to tell on every level of existence down to which the influence of the victorious Spirit reaches.

**(3) But this application of the redemptive force of Christ to actual society can be no very simple matter.** The problems raised by human society are manifold, intricate, and immense; and however firm our conviction may be that Christ is Himself their one and only solution, yet the solution of a difficult problem must, of necessity, be itself difficult: and if the perplexities have been themselves a matter of long and gradual growth, then their undoing also will be slow and gradual. It is, therefore, a work that needs care, study, patience, preparation. It cannot be said off-hand, without deliberate discipline, what exactly the lordship of Christ does demand of human society—what is its precise effect when brought to bear on our corporate civilization.

The application of Christ's victory to society must perforce take into consideration the degree to which the materials are in a condition to surrender themselves to His dominion, or to admit of becoming His instruments. Slowly and gradually they must be brought over to the uses of the Kingdom: but

how slowly? and how gradually? and can the pace be quickened by a little courage? and are we lagging behind even the possibilities already touched? These are the questions; and they can only be answered by those who have got long past the merely sentimental assertion that Christ is all in all; and have set themselves to the solid task of discovering what that solemn truth really and precisely means; and have worked it down into the concrete facts; and have surveyed and estimated the full need of the circumstances, and striven to make clear to themselves what is the first step, and what the second, and the third, if that great royalty of Christ is, in very deed, ever to be made good here on earth, amid men as they are, and after a history such as they have hitherto had.

We cannot all of us undertake such a study as this involves; we have not the leisure, or the brains. But that is just why we should all take some direct measures for keeping in touch with those who have the faculties and the opportunities that we lack. The knowledge and the experience amassed by the few must be absorbed and utilized by the many. This can be done, if a sufficient body of Christian men will take the trouble to put themselves in sympathetic contact with those who know; and so to keep themselves alive and alert, in order that they may keenly and vividly appreciate the stress of the actual pressure which is inflicted by the present situation, and may be quick to understand the wrong, and eager to look for the means of its undoing. Such a body of men, keenly alive to the disorder, and resolutely bent on its cure, will bring to the discussion of social questions an utterly different temper from that with which the main mass of Christians have, hitherto, greeted the various proposals made for the amelioration of the industrial classes. They will arrive at the discussion possessed by two deep convictions—First, that the present situation is intolerable; and, secondly, that its solution must be found in the unfaltering assertion of *moral*, as supreme over *mechanical* laws. In the spirit created by these twin-convictions, they will put compulsion upon the Christian expert in Political Economy to do his very utmost to develop his gift and to fulfil his service. They will form a



perpetual call upon him by their appeals to him for instruction and judgment; they will kindle him to more strenuous endeavour; and they will summon into life a larger body of such trained and capable economists. And then, again, they themselves will form the medium through which the intelligent and courageous appreciation of such knowledge will be more and more widely diffused. They will spread the news; they will convey abroad the warmth that is generated by contact with the living realities of the social problem. They will transmit their own heightened energies to others. They will thus serve to make social despair more and more impossible. They will gather about them a force of insistent hope, which will sustain the assertion that human society *can* find its deliverance, and *will* find it according to the measure of its loyalty to the Law and Spirit of Christ, our King.

**It is to collect together such men as this, it is to foster and to enlarge such a spirit, that the CHRISTIAN SOCIAL UNION exists.**

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# SOCIALISM     =     =     =     =

BY BROOKE FOSS WESTCOTT  
LATE BISHOP OF DURHAM

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*Price One Penny*

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# The Christian Social Union

**President :**

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**T**HIS Union consists of Members of the Church of England who have the following objects at heart :—

1. To claim for the Christian law the ultimate authority to rule social practice.
2. To study in common how to apply the moral truths and principles of Christianity to the social and economic difficulties of the present time.
3. To present Christ in practical life as the living Master and King, the enemy of wrong and selfishness, the power of righteousness and love.



# SOCIALISM

BY

BROOKE FOSS WESTCOTT

LATE BISHOP OF DURHAM

**I**T is not my intention to discuss in this paper any of the representative types of Socialism—the paternal Socialism of Owen, or the State Socialism of Bismarck, the international Socialism of Marx, or the Christian Socialism of Maurice, or the evolutionary Socialism of the *Fabian Essays*. I wish rather to consider the essential idea which gave, or still gives, vitality and force to these different systems, to indicate the circumstances which invest the idea with paramount importance at the present time, and especially to commend it to the careful study of the younger clergy.

**The term Socialism has been discredited by its connection with many extravagant and revolutionary schemes, but it is a term which needs to be claimed for nobler uses. It has no necessary affinity with any forms of violence, or confiscation, or class selfishness, or financial arrangement. I shall therefore venture to employ it apart from its historical associations as describing a theory of life, and not only a theory of economics. In this sense Socialism is the opposite of Individualism, and it is by contrast with Individualism that the true character of Socialism can best be discerned. Individualism and Socialism correspond with opposite views of humanity. Individualism regards humanity as made up of disconnected or warring atoms; Socialism regards it as an organic whole, a vital unity formed by the combination of contributory members mutually inter-dependent.**

**It follows that Socialism differs from Individualism both in method and in aim. The method of Socialism is co-operation,**

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**the method of Individualism is competition.** The one regards man as working with man for a common end, the other regards man as working against man for private gain. The aim of Socialism is the fulfilment of service, the aim of Individualism is the attainment of some personal advantage, riches, or place, or fame. Socialism seeks such an organization of life as shall secure for every one the most complete development of his powers; Individualism seeks primarily the satisfaction of the particular wants of each one in the hope that the pursuit of private interest will in the end secure public welfare.

If men were perfect, with desires and powers harmoniously balanced, both lines of action would lead to the same end. As it is, however, experience shows that limitations must be placed upon the self-assertion of the single man. The growing sense of dependence as life becomes more and more complex necessarily increases the feeling of personal obligation which constrains us each to look to the circumstances of others. At the same time in the intercourse of a fuller life we learn that our character is impoverished in proportion as we are isolated, and we learn also that evil or wrong in one part of society makes itself felt throughout the whole.

**But if we admit the central idea of Socialism, that the goal of human endeavour is the common well-being of all alike,** sought through conditions which provide for the fullest culture of each man, as opposed to the special development of a race, or a class, by the sacrifice of others in slavery or serfdom or necessary subjection, it does not follow that the end can be reached only in one way. The powers of men are different, and equal development does not involve equality. Experience will direct and confirm reform, for life is manifold. But a common end will hallow individuality for more effective service. The single man will not be sacrificed to the society. He will be enabled to bring to it the offering of his disciplined powers and so to realize his freedom.

Socialism, as I have defined it, is not, I repeat committed to any one line of action, but every one who accepts its central thought will recognize certain objects for immediate effort. He will seek to secure that labour shall be acknowledged in its

proper dignity as the test of manhood, and that its reward shall be measured, not by the necessities of the indigent, but by its actual value as contributing to the wealth of the community. He will strive to place masses of men who have no reserve of means in a position of stability and to quicken them by generous ideas. He will be bold to proclaim that the evils of luxury and penury cannot be met by palliatives. He will claim that all should confess in action that every power, every endowment, every possession, is not of private use, but a trust to be administered in the name of the Father for their fellow-men.

Such view of the social destiny of the individual, with all he has, is brought home to us at the present time by the conception which we have gained of the evolution, or rather of the providential ordering of life. There have been, from very early times, dreams of ideal states fashioned by great thinkers who felt how far the world in which they lived fell short of the society for which man was made. They looked within for the laws of their imaginary commonwealths. We have at length a surer guide for our hopes in the records of the past. Studying the course which history has taken, we can forecast the future, for the broad outline of human discipline is clear. In the Old World the ruling thought was the dignity of a race or of a class, to which all beside, in a greater or less degree, were made to minister. In the New World, ushered in by the Advent, the ruling thought has been the dignity of man as man, of men as men, and however imperfectly the great truth revealed in the Incarnation has been grasped and embodied, still it has in some sense been brought home to the West little by little through many lessons.

At first in the middle ages the society was dominant, ordered in a hierarchy of classes: then at the Reformation the individual claimed independence, and the voice of authority was followed by the voice of reason. Now, when the complexity of life baffles purely rational analysis, theoretical freedom has been found to degenerate into anarchy: and we catch sight of a fuller harmony in which the offices of the society and of the citizen, of tradition and conscience, shall be reconciled.



Functions which were once combined have been sharply separated as a step towards a more complete union. For here also the law of a higher life has been fulfilled, and the parts of the body have been differentiated, so that their dependence one upon another may be seen in its beneficent operation. In order to deal rightly with these new conditions we must fix our attention on facts and not on words. The permanence of technical terms often tends to mislead. The modern conceptions of capital and trade, for example, or rather isolated facts which foreshadowed them, usury and buying to sell again, were repugnant to mediæval religious feeling; but now that the range of production and distribution has been indefinitely extended we have to face problems which mediæval experience could not anticipate and cannot help us to solve. Even in the last century capitalist, producer, and consumer were not unfrequently united. If each of these three classes has now been sharply distinguished and hitherto kept apart by conflicting material interests, it is, if we may trust the teachings of the past, that they may in due time be brought together again in a full, free, and chosen fellowship. The relations which exist between them at present are modern and transitional. **Wage-labour, though it appears to be an inevitable step in the evolution of society, is as little fitted to represent finally or adequately the connection of man with man in the production of wealth as at earlier times slavery or serfdom.**

Our position, then, is one of expectancy and preparation, but we can see the direction of the social movement. We wait for the next stage in the growth of the State, when in full and generous co-operation each citizen shall offer the fullness of his own life that he may rejoice in the fullness of the life of the body.

Such an issue may appear to be visionary. It is, I believe, far nearer than we suppose. It is at least the natural outcome of what has gone before. Society has been organized effectively, without regard to the individual. The individual has been developed in his independence. It remains to show how the richest variety of individual differences can be made to fulfil the noblest ideal of the State, when fellow-labourers seek in

the whole the revelation or the true meaning of their separate offerings. And nothing has impressed me more during my years of work than the rapidity and power with which the thoughts of dependence and solidarity and brotherhood, of our debt to the past and our responsibility for the future, have spread among our countrymen.

Men have grown familiar with the principle of combination for limited objects. Such unions are a discipline for a larger fellowship. There is, indeed, enough to sadden us in the selfishness which too often degrades rich and poor alike, but self-respect has grown widely among those who are poor in material wealth. The consciousness of a high calling has quickened to self-denial and a noble activity many who are oppressed with the burden of great possessions. There is on all sides an increasingly glad recognition of duties answering to opportunities; and if education has created or deepened the desire for reasonable leisure, it has opened springs of enjoyment which riches cannot make more healthy or more satisfying.

At the same time our public wealth is quickly accumulating. Buildings, galleries, gardens, bring home to every Englishman that he has an inheritance in the grandeur of his country; and the English family still guards in honour the fundamental types of human communion and fatherhood and brotherhood, which are a sufficient foundation for a kingdom of God. All things, indeed, once more are ready, and a clear call is given to us to prove our faith.

Here, then, lies the duty of the Christian teacher. The thoughts of a true Socialism—the thoughts that men are “one man” in Christ, sons of God and brethren, suffering and rejoicing together, that each touches all and all touch each with an inevitable influence, that as we live by others we can find no rest till we live for others, are fundamental thoughts of the Law and the Prophets, of the Gospels and the Epistles, which he is empowered and bound to make effective under the conditions of modern life.

The result is that reflection and experience have at length made them intelligible. To interpret and embody them in

a practical form is the office of believers now. They must show that Christianity, which has dealt hitherto with the individual, deals also with the State, with classes, with social conditions, and not only with personal character. In the endeavour to fulfil this duty the past will help them by analogy, but not by example. New questions cannot be settled by tradition. There is an order in the accomplishment of the divine counsel. Even great evils are not met and conquered at once.

Discerning our own work, we shall not condemn or blame our fathers that they did not anticipate it. They did more or less perfectly the work that was prepared for them to do. We are required not to repeat their service, but, enriched and strengthened by what they have won, **to bring the doctrine of the Incarnation to bear upon the dealings of man with man, and of nation with nation.** As we strive to do this we shall come to understand the force of the loftiest truths of theology. We shall find that that which is transcendental is, indeed, practical as a motive, and an inspiration. We alone, I do not scruple to affirm it, we alone, who believe that "The Word became flesh" can keep hope fresh in the face of the sorrows of the world, for we alone know that evil is intrusive and remediable; we alone know that the victory over the world has been won, and that we have to gather with patience the fruits of the victory. Violence can destroy, but it cannot construct. Love destroys the evil when it replaces the evil by the good.

But while we affirm the absolute supremacy of the spiritual and the universal sovereignty of Christ reigning from the Cross, we remember that our work must be done under the conditions of earth, and that it is here on the sordid field of selfish conflicts that we must prepare the kingdom of God. At the same time, we recognize that the social problem of to-day, the relations of capital and labour, belongs especially to Englishmen, who, by their national character, have ruled the development of modern industry. As Englishmen have set the problem, so on Englishmen lies the responsibility of solving it. And the position of the English clergy gives them peculiar opportunities for moderating



with wise faith discussions which will open the way for the solution. The clergy of the National Church are not a close and isolated caste: they are drawn from every class: they are trained in sympathy with every variety of thought and culture: they are in habitual contact with all forms of experience: they are lifted above the influence of party by the greatness of their work: they are enabled to labour for a distant end by the greatness of the Faith which they proclaim.

I ask, then—I ask myself, not without sorrowful perplexity—whether we have, in view of the teaching of present facts, considered what God's counsel for men in creation and redemption is? **Whether the state of things in our towns and in our villages either answers or tends to answer the divine idea?** Whether the present distribution of wealth is not perilous alike to those who have and to those who want? Whether we have not accepted the laws of the material order as the laws of all nature? Whether we have pondered over the moral significance of the poor, and whether we have reflected on the wider application of that principle which it is the glory of medicine to have guarded, that every discovery affecting man's well-being is the property of the race, and not of the finder?

I do not enter now on any questions of detail. I desire simply to direct attention to questions which go to the very heart of the Gospel; and I beg the younger clergy, with whatever strength of persuasion I can command, to think over these things: to discuss them with one another reverently and patiently; to seek to understand and not to silence their adversaries; to win for themselves the truth which gives to error what permanence it has; to remember that bold and sweeping statements come more commonly from doubt or ignorance than from just conviction. But I beg them not to improvise hasty judgments. The personal value of an opinion depends for the most part upon the pains which have been spent in forming it. Zeal, enthusiasm, devotion are not enough to guide us in the perplexity of conduct; we need above all things knowledge as the basis of action. We have not yet mastered the elements of the problems of society. Theories have been formed from the examination

of groups of isolated phenomena; but life is complex. We must, indeed, see our end before we begin our work; but it may be that different ways will be found to lead to it, and as far as I can judge the social question of our day will finally receive not one answer, but many. But in one respect all the answers will agree; all will be religious.

Meanwhile, our office as Christian teachers is to proclaim the ideal of the Gospel, and to form opinion. And if we do this, if we confess that our mission is to hasten a kingdom of God on earth, and if we ourselves move resolutely forward as the Spirit guides us, I believe that we shall find through the common offices of our daily intercourse that peace which springs out of the consciousness of common sacrifice made for one end, and that assurance of strength which comes through new victories of faith.

We cannot doubt that God is calling us in this age, through the characteristic teachings of science and of history, to seek a new social application of the Gospel. We cannot doubt, therefore, that it is through our obedience to the call that we shall realize its divine power. The proof of Christianity which is prepared by God, as I believe, for our times, is a Christian society filled with one spirit in two forms—righteousness and love.



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# WHAT IS THE CHRISTIAN SOCIAL UNION?

BY  
REV. T. C. FRY, D.D.

HEADMASTER OF BERKHAMSTED SCHOOL

THE Christian Social Union is a Society of Churchmen, bent on the close study of the Social questions that have forced themselves, none too soon, on public notice. This study is undoubtedly very hard work: without hard work no intimate knowledge of the Social question can be gained. This Society has adopted the name of Christian, as a specific confession that it is in the fulfilment and realization of the principles of Christ that the ultimate solution of our social difficulties will be found. It confines itself to Churchmen because it avowedly bases its work and action on religious grounds; and it is constantly found that practical difficulties arise in what are called unsectarian Societies—difficulties which, to say the least of them, prove a serious hindrance to unanimous and decided action. Besides, we are not, we believe, wrong in saying that the members of the Union are of one mind in recognizing, without intolerance or intended self-assertion, that it is the mission of our Church in England to be catholic and national—that it is meant to be and is capable of being, under God, the main mover in sound social reform.

## THE UNION IS NON-POLITICAL

It welcomes alike the strong progressive and the cautious politician, who yet feels in his conscience that something must be done and that our principles are right. As a matter of fact, our members are men of very varied views, their one bond being a conviction that the Christian law must rule in practical life.

Is there not a cause for such a Society? Can we be satisfied with our present industrial conditions? To take one point only. Is it probable that an educated poverty will acquiesce for long in a hand-to-mouth existence for the sake of a few? Is it right or just that the labourer should earn little more than bare subsistence, while his labour makes fruitful the capital and possible the luxury of a small minority?

Is the change, which in any case is coming, to be carried out on Christian principles or not?

It may be admitted that this statement of contrast takes no account of gradated shadows: but, for all that, the huge contrast is abidingly with us. Can it, ought it to go on?

It will be answered, "We all deplore it; but it is the result of economic law. You can't help it: it always must be so."

Well, it is now well recognized that economic laws can be largely modified, and have been already largely modified, by human action. Trade Unions have affected the "iron law of wages": factory laws have modified the "natural" working of unrestrained competition; sanitary laws have controlled the right of the independent Briton to do what he will with his slops. These are but passing illustrations of the complex changes produced in human environment by the exercise of a little human obstinacy and resolution.

Of course the problems of modern society are exceedingly intricate; but that is no reason for despair. There is, in truth, one great and redemptive force in the hands of the Church that has not yet been fully set free, and this is—

## THE PRINCIPLE OF CHRISTIAN JUSTICE AND CHRISTIAN LOVE

Here it is that we are met by the philosopher, the mere politician, the contented capitalist, the social idler, with a chorus of outcries. "Pray, how are you going to do it?" "You have not the genius and you

have not the time." "Well," we answer, "everyone has, no doubt, much to learn; but we are profoundly dissatisfied; we have been at work for many years now; we are not afraid of blue-books; we have gone in and out amongst the poor; we have listened to both sides; we can claim to number amongst us some Christian Economists, who have both time and genius for the work; and we mean to put pressure on statesmen to quicken the pace. We are tired of mere 'political' reforms: we call for a generation of social efforts. We will bear no longer that so many of our poor shall be housed little better than pigs, and men willing to work shall starve. Sort out the impostor, if you choose; but do not try to satisfy us with the easy theory that all unemployed are impostors. Do not talk to us of Mechanical Laws: try and *moralize* your Economics. Do not be content with criticism; if we are doing ill, produce something better of your own. It is immoral, it is unchristian to do nothing or to float with the tide."

It is possible that these words may reach minds which are indeed much disturbed by sensations of discomfort in face of our social condition; and which yet feel so conscious of the complexity of the question, and of their own ignorance, that they dare not move.

#### MERE PARTY POLITICS THEY ABHOR

It may be that they seldom listen to a downright party speech without feeling strongly disposed to join the other side. The exaggerations, the self-complacency, the argumentative distortion, the superior airs—in a word, the humbug of the whole thing offends them. It is not that politics are not a mighty interest, or that they do not feel the responsibilities of citizens. It is the professional politician who drives them away. To such we believe this Union appeals with special force. It is difficult to imagine how effective would its work be if we could found in every English town a knot of fifty or a hundred like-minded men determined to act

and study on these principles. They would prove a leaven which might leaven the whole lump.

They will slowly create a public opinion which will blot out the unsanitary cottage, the terrible contrasts of want and wealth, the horrors of the drink-traffic, the dishonesty of commercial competition, from our midst.

To create this public opinion we want unity, social study, and resolute speech. To achieve these, if we can but spread the Union, will not be a task impossible to enthusiasm and hope.

*President:* Bishop of Birmingham. *Vice-Presidents:* Bishop of Southwark, Bishop of Liverpool. *Hon. Treasurer:* F. C. Canning (62 Fellows Road, South Hampstead, N.W.). *Hon. Secretary:* Rev. J. Carter (Pusey House, Oxford). *Organizing Secretary:* Rev. W. J. Torrance (The Church House, London, S.W.).

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## HOW TO FORM A BRANCH OF THE CHRISTIAN SOCIAL UNION

BY

THE ORGANIZING SECRETARY

**T**HE Christian Social Union is a society of members of the Church of England who desire to apply the principles of Christianity to the solution of social problems. The Union includes all shades of political opinion, and all schools of ecclesiastical thought. The chief purpose of the Union is to increase the **sense of responsibility** in regard to social questions, and to encourage members of the Church of England to take their part in the national life as good Christians and well-informed citizens.

### OBJECTS

The three general objects of the Union, to which alone members are required to subscribe, are as follows :—

- (1) To claim for the Christian law the ultimate authority to rule social practice.
- (2) To study in common how to apply the moral truths and principles of Christianity to the social and economic difficulties of the present time.
- (3) To present Christ in practical life as the living Master and King, the enemy of wrong and selfishness, the power of righteousness and love.

## METHODS

The following are some of the methods by which the Union seeks to attain its objects :—

- (1) The regular and systematic **study** of social problems in the profound conviction that only through the sanctification of family, commercial, and political life, by the spirit of Christ and in accordance with His will, can we hope to improve present social imperfections.
- (2) **PERSONAL INVESTIGATION** of actual social conditions.
- (3) The provision of **Lectures** and **Meetings** at which these questions can be discussed.
- (4) Insistence in **private conversation** and **public speech** on the vital connection between religion and social life.
- (5) The spread of **literature** dealing with present social problems, written by experts from the Christian point of view.

## ACTIVITIES

Branches are encouraged to make their studies effective by undertaking some practical work with a view to improving the actual conditions of social life. Good work has already been done in many Branches by encouraging the formation of Housing Associations, Infant Life Protection Societies, Sanitary Aid Committees, Research Committees, and Civic Leagues ; or by issuing White Lists, forming Settlements, and organizing Conferences of Social Workers. A detailed investigation of some definite social problem is each year undertaken throughout the Union. Such investigations have already been held in regard to Unemployment, Sweated Industries, Infant Mortality, and other subjects. An energetic Branch will easily find abundant scope for its activities according to local conditions.

## THE ORGANIZATION OF A BRANCH

**Membership.** Any one wishing to form a Branch or Group of the C.S.U. should apply in the first instance either to the Hon. Secretary, Rev. J. Carter, Pusey House, Oxford ; or to the Organizing Secretary, Rev. W. J. Torrance, The Church House, Westminster, S.W. All necessary information will then be forwarded. To form a Branch twenty-five actual members are necessary. A number less than twenty-five may form themselves into a Group. A Group differs from a Branch in that it is not entitled to representation at

the Annual Council, and must be attached to an existing Branch. In other respects the privileges are the same.

**Finance.** The Branches are left free to fix their own local subscription. Most of them find that a minimum subscription of 2/6 a year is necessary to cover their ordinary expenses. Provision may be made for the admission of members at a lower rate when this is found to be desirable. Branches are only required to pay a small capitation fee to the central fund for the expenses of the Executive. The amount of this levy is settled annually by the Council. It is at present 4*d.* per member per annum.

**Literature.** The Annual Report and other papers published directly by the Executive are sent free to all members of the Union. Other papers are published by the Literature Sub-Committee under the authority of the Executive. Any Branch may obtain a regular supply of these publications at the annual rate of 4*d.* per member, or the papers may be purchased separately.

**Officers.** The usual Officers of a Branch are a Chairman, a Treasurer, one or two Secretaries, and, occasionally, a Librarian. One of the Secretaries should, if possible, be a layman. These, with the Committee, are elected at the Annual Meeting of the Branch, which may be held either at the beginning or the end of each session.

**Meetings.** The purpose of the Union being the study and treatment of social problems from the Christian point of view, a Branch will begin its work by arranging meetings, study circles, and public lectures. The study circles are informal meetings among the members, which may conveniently be held at private houses. It is recommended that each Branch should hold, at least, one public meeting every year, in order to keep the general public in its neighbourhood well informed upon the principles and methods of the Union.

“It is the duty of the Church to apply the truths and principles of Christianity, especially the fundamental truths of the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man, to the solution of social and economic difficulties, to awaken and educate the social conscience, to further its expression in legislation (while preserving its own independence of political party), and to strive, above all, to present Christ before men as a Living Lord and King in the realm of common life.”—*Report of the Lambeth Conference, 1908*, p. 156.

“A committee or organization for social service should be part of the equipment of every diocese, and, as far as practicable, of every parish.”—*Report of the Lambeth Conference, 1908*, Resolution No. 47, p. 57.

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# HINTS FOR STUDENTS

BY THE

REV. W. EDWARD CHADWICK, D.D., B.Sc.

**T**HE first need of the intelligent social worker is an adequate knowledge of facts. This may be gained in two ways:—

First, from the study of suitable books.

Secondly, from careful personal investigation, if necessary under competent direction.

These two methods should be pursued side by side.

- (1) From books we may gain a knowledge of conditions extending over a far wider area than we can hope to acquire only by personal investigation; we may use the experience of those who have far larger means of procuring information than we ourselves have; we can also learn what to look for in our own personal work.
- (2) By personal investigation we shall come face to face with facts as we can in no other way; if our investigation is thorough and complete, though extending over only a small area,\* we may be able to make valuable additions to already available sociological data.

The most useful books are those which deal simply with facts, or which reveal the causes and processes which have led to present conditions. At any rate at first it is wiser for the social student and worker to eschew, as far as possible, party or polemical literature.

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\* An admirable example will be found in the 1st volume of *Sociological Papers*, "Life in an Agricultural Village." (Macmillan.)

An excellent account of the actual social and economic conditions of a typical English town will be found in Rowntree's **Poverty: a Study of Town Life** (Macmillan. 1s. net); also in Miss E. Jebb's **Cambridge: a Study of Social Conditions** (Bowes and Bowes, Cambridge. 1s. net). Those who have access to a library will find vast stores of valuable and well-arranged information in Mr. Charles Booth's **Life and Labour of the People in London** (Macmillan. 1st series, "Poverty," 4 vols.; 2nd series, "Industry," 5 vols.; 3rd series, "Religious Influences," 7 vols. 5s. net per vol.).

Having gained a fair knowledge of actual present conditions, the social student or worker should next try to gain as clear as possible a conception of the constitution and growth of society itself, regarded as an organism composed of many parts, all inter-related to each other; also of its social laws, forces, and processes; the conditions of social welfare; the various departments through which social activities are carried on, e.g., government, trade, education, etc., etc.; and of the present law relating to Public Health, the Poor Law, etc.

It will be found that the study of a few books dealing thoroughly with the subject in a scientific manner will be much more helpful than a number of small books (hastily read), and which are often issued to support certain pre-conceived theories.

The following will be found to repay careful study:—

#### I. THE CHRISTIAN POINT OF VIEW.

**The Incarnation and Common Life.** Westcott. (Macmillan. 9s.)

**Jesus Christ and the Social Question.** Peabody. (Macmillan. 6d.)

**Christianity and the Social Crisis.** Rauschenbusch. (Macmillan. 6s.)

#### II. ECONOMIC AND DESCRIPTIVE.

**Economics of Industry.** Prof. A. Marshall. (Macmillan. 3s. 6d.)

**An Introduction to Social Philosophy.** Prof. J. S. Mackenzie. (Maclehose. 7s. 6d.)

- The Service of the State.** J. H. Muirhead. (Murray. 3s. 6d. net.)
- Industrial Efficiency.** Arthur Shadwell. (Longmans. 6s. net.)
- Industrial Democracy.** Sidney and Beatrice Webb. (Longmans. 12s. net.)
- Social Work.** W. E. Chadwick. (Longmans. 1s. net.)
- The Worker's Handbook.** Gertrude Tuckwell and Constance Smith. (Duckworth. 2s. 6d.)
- The Citizen and His Duties.** W. F. Trotter. (Jack. 1s. net.)
- The Report of the Royal Commission on the Poor Laws and the Relief of Distress, 1909.** (Cd. 4499. 5s. 6d.)
- The Report of the Interdepartmental Committee on Physical Deterioration, 1904.** (Cd. 2175. 1s. 2d.)
- The Last Report of the Local Government Board.**

### III. SPECIAL QUESTIONS.

- Unemployment.** W. H. Beveridge. (Longmans. 7s. 6d. net.)
- The Temperance Problem and Social Reform.** Joseph Rowntree and Arthur Shadwell. (Hodder and Stoughton. 6s.)
- English Local Government.** Percy Ashley. (Jack. 1s. net.)
- The Report on Home Work, 1907.** (No. 218. 2s. 1d.)
- The Report of the Departmental Committee on Vagrancy, 1906.** (Cd. 2852. 1s. 1d.)
- The Report and Special Report on the Housing of the Working Classes, 1906.** (No. 376. 1s.)

*(All the Reports can be obtained from Messrs. Wyman & Son,  
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# PRAYERS AND HYMNS

## COLLECT

**B**LESS, O Lord, we beseech thee, the work of our Union, and grant to us to make thee manifest among men as their living Master and King. Give us the faith which can remove mountains, and the courage which can bring the kingdoms of this world to become the kingdoms of our Lord and of his Christ, that he may reign for ever and ever. Amen.

## BIDDING PRAYER.

*For use in church before sermons or lectures.*

**Y**E shall pray for Christ's holy Catholic Church, that is, for the whole congregation of Christian people dispersed throughout the whole world; and especially for the Churches of England, Scotland, Ireland, and America, and for all other provinces in communion with these. And herein especially for the bishops, priests, and deacons, and other workers in Christ's kingdom, whether ministering to the faithful or evangelizing the ignorant.

Ye shall also pray for the king and his ministers, for all parliaments, councils, and other governing bodies throughout the empire; for all rulers, administrators, and teachers; for all our people, and for the whole family of mankind. Especially on behalf of the Christian Social Union, I ask your prayers for the furtherance of Christ's kingdom among men, and the banishment of all social injustice, commercial dishonesty, and neglect of the weak.

Finally, let us remember those that have departed out of this world in faith, and pray that together with them we may dwell with God in everlasting life.

**O**UR Father.

## HYMNS

1

*S. Johnson.*

**C**ITY of God, how broad and far  
Outspread thy walls sublime!  
The true thy chartered freemen are  
Of every age and clime.

One holy Church, one army strong,  
One steadfast, high intent;  
One working band, one harvest song,  
One King omnipotent.

How purely hath thy speech come down  
From man's primaeval youth!  
How grandly hath thine empire grown  
Of freedom, love and truth!

How gleam thy watch-fires through the night  
With never-fainting ray!  
How rise thy towers, serene and bright,  
To meet the dawning day!

In vain the surge's angry shock,  
In vain the drifting sands:  
Unharm'd upon the eternal Rock  
The eternal City stands.

2

*A. C. Ainger.*

**G**OD is working his purpose out as  
year succeeds to year,  
God is working his purpose out and the  
time is drawing near;  
Nearer and nearer draws the time, the  
time that shall surely be,  
When the earth shall be filled with the  
glory of God as the waters cover the  
sea.

From utmost east to utmost west where'er  
man's foot hath trod,  
By the mouth of many messengers goes  
forth the voice of God,  
"Give ear to me, ye continents, ye isles,  
give ear to me,  
That the earth may be filled with the  
glory of God as the waters cover the sea."

What can we do to work God's work, to  
prosper and increase  
The brotherhood of all mankind, the reign  
of the Prince of peace?

What can we do to hasten the time, the  
time that shall surely be,  
When the earth shall be filled with the  
glory of God as the waters cover the sea?

March we forth in the strength of God  
with the banner of Christ unfurled,  
That the light of the glorious Gospel of  
truth may shine throughout the world;  
Fight we the fight with sorrow and sin,  
to set their captives free,  
That the earth may be filled with the  
glory of God as the waters cover the sea.

All we can do is nothing worth unless God  
blesses the deed;

Vainly we hope for the harvest-tide till  
God gives life to the seed;

Yet nearer and nearer draws the time, the  
time that shall surely be,

When the earth shall be filled with the  
glory of God as the waters cover the sea.

## 3

*Henry Scott Holland.*

JUDGE eternal, throned in splendour,  
Lord of lords, and King of kings,  
With thy living fire of judgment  
Purge this realm of bitter things,  
Solace all its wide dominion  
With the healing of thy wings.

Still the weary folk are pining  
For the hour that brings release,  
And the city's crowded clangour  
Cries aloud for sin to cease,  
And the homesteads and the woodlands  
Plead in silence for their peace.

Crown, O God, thine own endeavour,  
Cleave our darkness with thy sword,  
Feed the faint and hungry heathen  
With the richness of thy Word,  
Cleanse the body of this empire  
Through the glory of the Lord.

## 4

*G. K. Chesterton.*

O GOD of earth and altar,  
Bow down and hear our cry;  
Our earthly rulers falter,  
Our people drift and die,  
The walls of gold entomb us,  
The swords of scorn divide;  
Take not thy thunder from us,  
But take away our pride.

From all that terror teaches,  
From lies of tongue and pen,  
From all the easy speeches  
That comfort cruel men,

From sale and profanation  
Of honour and the sword,  
From sleep, and from damnation,  
Deliver us, good Lord!

Tie in a living tether  
The prince and priest and thrall,  
Bind all our lives together,  
Smite us and save us all;  
In ire and exultation,  
Aflame with faith, and free,  
Lift up a living nation,  
A single sword to thee.

## 5

*G. Thring.*

O GOD of mercy, God of might,  
In love and pity infinite,  
Teach us, as ever in thy sight,  
To live our life to thee.

And thou, who cam'st on earth to die  
That fallen man might live thereby,  
O hear us, for to thee we cry,  
In hope, O Lord, to thee.

Teach us the lesson thou hast taught,  
To feel for those thy Blood hath bought,  
That every word, and deed, and thought  
May work a work for thee.

For all are brethren, far and wide,  
Since thou, O Lord, for all hast died:  
Then teach us, whatsoe'er betide,  
To love them all in thee.

In sickness, sorrow, want, or care,  
Whate'er it be, 'tis ours to share;  
May we, where help is needed, there  
Give help as unto thee.

And may thy Holy Spirit move  
All those who live to live in love,  
Till thou shalt greet in heaven above  
All those who give to thee.

## 6

*J. Russell Lowell.*

ONCE to every man and nation  
Comes the moment to decide,  
In the strife of truth with falsehood,  
For the good or evil side;  
Some great cause, God's new Messiah,  
Offering each the bloom or blight,  
And the choice goes by for ever  
'Twixt that darkness and that light.

Then to side with truth is noble,  
When we share her wretched crust,  
Ere her cause bring fame and profit,  
And 'tis prosperous to be just;

Then it is the brave man chooses,  
While the coward stands aside,  
And the multitude make virtue  
Of the faith they had denied.

By the light of burning martyrs,  
Christ, thy bleeding feet we track,  
Toiling up new Calvaries ever  
With the Cross that turns not back.  
New occasions teach new duties ;  
Time makes ancient good uncouth ;  
They must upward still and onward  
Who would keep abreast of truth.

Though the cause of evil prosper,  
Yet 'tis truth alone is strong ;  
Though her portion be the scaffold,  
And upon the throne be wrong,  
Yet that scaffold sways the future,  
And behind the dim unknown,  
Standeth God within the shadow,  
Keeping watch above his own.

## 7

Y. H.

REJOICE, O land, in God thy might,  
His will obey, him serve aright ;  
For thee the saints uplift their voice :  
Fear not, O land, in God rejoice.

Glad shalt thou be, with blessing crowned,  
With joy and peace thou shalt abound ;  
Yea, love with thee shall make his home  
Until thou see God's kingdom come.

He shall forgive thy sins untold :  
Remember thou his love of old ;  
Walk in his way, his word adore,  
And keep his truth for evermore.

## 8

S. C. Lowry.

SON of God, eternal Saviour,  
Source of life and truth and grace,  
Son of Man, whose birth incarnate  
Hallows all our human race,  
Thou, our Head, who, throned in glory,  
For thine own dost ever plead,  
Fill us with thy love and pity,  
Heal our wrongs, and help our need.

As thou, Lord, has lived for others,  
So may we for others live ;  
Freely have thy gifts been granted,  
Freely may thy servants give.  
Thine the gold and thine the silver,  
Thine the wealth of land and sea,  
We but stewards of thy bounty,  
Held in solemn trust for thee.

Come, O Christ, and reign among us,  
King of love, and Prince of peace,  
Hush the storm of strife and passion,  
Bid its cruel discords cease ;  
By thy patient years of toiling,  
By thy silent hours of pain,  
Quench our fevered thirst of pleasure,  
Shame our selfish greed of gain.

Ah, the past is dark behind us,  
Strewn with wrecks and stained with  
blood ;

But before us gleams the vision  
Of the coming brotherhood.  
See the Christlike host advancing,  
High and lowly, great and small,  
Linked in bonds of common service  
For the common Lord of all.

Son of God, eternal Saviour,  
Source of life and truth and grace,  
Son of Man, whose birth incarnate  
Hallows all our human race,  
Thou who prayedst, thou who willest  
That thy people should be one,  
Grant, O grant our hope's fruition :  
Here on earth thy will be done.

## 9

J. Milton.

THE Lord will come and not be slow,  
His footsteps cannot err ;  
Before him righteousness shall go,  
His royal harbinger.

Truth from the earth, like to a flower,  
Shall bud and blossom then ;  
And justice, from her heavenly bower,  
Look down on mortal men.

Rise, God, judge thou the earth in might,  
This wicked earth redress,  
For thou art he who shalt by right  
The nations all possess.

The nations all whom thou hast made  
Shall come, and all shall frame  
To bow them low before thee, Lord,  
And glorify thy name.

For great thou art, and wonders great  
By thy strong hand are done ;  
Thou in thy everlasting seat  
Remainest God alone.

## 10

F. L. Hosmer.

THY kingdom come ! on bended knee  
The passing ages pray ;  
And faithful souls have yearned to see  
On earth that kingdom's day.

But the slow watches of the night  
Not less to God belong ;  
And for the everlasting right  
The silent stars are strong.

And lo, already on the hills  
The flags of dawn appear ;  
Gird up your loins, ye prophet souls,  
Proclaim the day is near :

The day in whose clear-shining light  
All wrong shall stand revealed,  
When justice shall be throned in might,  
And every heart be healed.

When knowledge, hand in hand with peace  
Shall walk the earth abroad—  
The day of perfect righteousness,  
The promised day of God.

11 *William Blake.*

TO Mercy, Pity, Peace, and Love,  
All pray in their distress,  
And to these virtues of delight  
Return their thankfulness.

For Mercy, Pity, Peace, and Love,  
Is God our Father dear ;  
And Mercy, Pity, Peace, and Love,  
Is Man, his child and care.

For Mercy has a human heart,  
Pity, a human face ;  
And Love, the human form divine,  
And Peace, the human dress.

Then every man, of every clime,  
That prays in his distress,  
Prays to the human form divine :  
Love, Mercy, Pity, Peace.

And all must love the human form,  
In heathen, Turk, or Jew ;  
Where Mercy, Love, and Pity dwell,  
There God is dwelling too.

12 *Ebenezer Elliot.*

WHEN wilt thou save the people ?  
O God of mercy, when ?

The people, Lord, the people,  
Not thrones and crowns, but men ?  
Flowers of thy heart, O God, are they ;  
Let them not pass, like weeds, away,  
Their heritage a sunless day.

God save the people !

Shall crime bring crime for ever,  
Strength aiding still the strong ?  
Is it thy will, O Father,

That man shall toil for wrong ?  
"No," say thy mountains ; "No," thy  
skies ;

Man's clouded sun shall brightly rise,  
And songs be heard instead of sighs.

God save the people !

When wilt thou save the people ?

O God of mercy, when ?  
The people, Lord, the people,  
Not thrones and crowns, but men !  
God save the people ; thine they are,  
Thy children, as thy Angels fair ;  
From vice, oppression, and despair,  
God save the people !

NOTE.—All the above hymns, with their tunes, will be found in the *English Hymnal*, from which they are taken by permission, viz., Nos. 375, 423, 448, 475, 492, 504, 506, 529, 548, 562, 563, 566.

The following well-known tunes will also be found suitable:—For *No. 3*, Mannheim ("Lead us, heavenly Father"). *No. 4*, Aurelia ("The Church's one foundation"). *No. 6*, Austrian ("Praise the Lord, ye Heavens adore him"). *No. 7*, Wareham (*A. & M.*, "O Saviour, Lord, to thee we pray"). *No. 8* same as *No. 6*. *No. 9*, S. Anne ("O God, our help in ages past"), also Irish. *No. 10*, S. Stephen ("In token that thou shalt not fear"). The tunes for the other hymns will be found in the *English Hymnal*, viz., *No. 1* to 375, *No. 2* to 548, *No. 5* to 448, *No. 11* to 506, *No. 12* to 566.

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# THE SOCIAL TEACHING OF THE CATECHISM = =

BY THE REV. = =  
PERCY DEARMER

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*Price One Penny*

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# The Christian Social Union

President :

THE BISHOP OF BIRMINGHAM

THIS Union consists of Members of the Church of England who have the following objects at heart :—

1. To claim for the Christian law the ultimate authority to rule social practice.
2. To study in common how to apply the moral truths and principles of Christianity to the social and economic difficulties of the present time.
3. To present Christ in practical life as the living Master and King, the enemy of wrong and selfishness, the power of righteousness and love.

# THE SOCIAL TEACHING OF THE CATECHISM

BY THE

REV. PERCY DEARMER, M.A.

*Vicar of S. Mary's, Primrose Hill, and Secretary of the London Branch,  
Christian Social Union.*

THE Church Catechism is intended not only to be learned by the young, but also to be remembered by the old. It is, in fact, the Layman's Text-book—the Summary of Doctrine and Practice which the English Church puts in the hands of all her members, and expects them to be true to all the days of their life. The Thirty-nine Articles are imposed upon the clergy alone, and they require a certain amount of theological and historical knowledge: the Catechism is accepted by everybody, and is so simple that a child can be taught to understand it. Yet it is so deep that, as I have found, a three-year course of 150 instructions is barely enough to do it justice.

If, then, we are true to the Catechism we shall be loyal Churchmen and good citizens. We shall be both these things; and to be either of them we must be sound, both spiritually and socially. For man has a double duty, as the Catechism shows, a duty to God and a duty to his Neighbour. Both are infinitely important, both are necessary to salvation; and no one can do one of the duties properly without doing the other also. Now, to explain the spiritual teaching of the Catechism would be a delightful occupation. But here we will rigidly confine ourselves to the Second Duty; we must be content to select only what we can find about the secular and social side of man's life—the way in which men are bound together by mutual duties of fellowship in this world; for this is our subject—*The Social Teaching of the Catechism.*

The Church Catechism consists of Five Parts; and I suppose one reason why it is so admirable is because these Parts are just what had always been taught since Englishmen first were converted to Christianity. The Catechism was not

a newfangled thing, but was the result of about a thousand years' experience. These Parts are—(1) The Covenant, an introduction about Churchmanship, with the Renunciation; (2) The Creed, with its summary; (3) The Ten Commandments, with the Duties, their explanation; (4) The Lord's Prayer, with the Desire, its paraphrase; (5) The Sacraments.

Let us now consider the social teaching in each of these.

## I

### THE COVENANT

*What is your Name?* Here I am singled out and asked a question about my own self. "Could anything be more individual than that?" you may ask; and perhaps you may add "and therefore less social?" I would reply, "Yes, nothing could be more individual"; and to the second question I would add, "and nothing could be more social."

For every man begins as an individual. But he is a social individual. And God has made him a social individual in order that he may end in the most perfect of all fellowships—the Communion of Saints. So the first words of the Catechism are—*What is your Name?* And the last words of the Catechism are—in *charity with all men*.

And, the minute the Catechism has singled me out as an individual, it has me fast by the heels; so that before I have finished answering the second question I have declared myself a member of a holy brotherhood. I am not only *the child of God*, the All-Father, but also a *member of Christ*. Just as an arm or a hand is a member of the body, so am I a part of that Body whose Head is Christ, and every one members in particular.<sup>1</sup> In that Body we are bound together in closest fellowship, without distinction of race, or sex, or class.<sup>2</sup> And I am an *inheritor of a divine Society, the kingdom of heaven*—not an heir who will come into his Kingdom after this life, but an *inheritor*, one, that is, who *has* come into the Kingdom already. All this was involved in that innocent question—*What is your Name?*

Thus the Church Catechism does not begin with what we are expected to do for God, but with what God in His great love has done for us—not with how we are to get to Heaven when we die, but with how we are to behave in the Kingdom

<sup>1</sup> 1 Cor. xii. 27.

<sup>2</sup> Gal. iii. 27, 28; Col. iii. 11.



of Heaven while we live. He has placed us in a holy fellowship, and we have, therefore, duties to Him and to each other. That is the Covenant.

Then the Catechism leads us on in the Third Question to think, not of what we may hope to get by doing something for God, but what we have to give up and to do in order to fulfil our part of the Covenant.

## THE PROMISE : RENUNCIATION

My fellowship in the Church Universal, when I was brought into it at Baptism, was attested by three new relations who became my Godparents. They promised that I should renounce certain anti-social things, certain forms of selfishness, which are called sin, and which will make me a plague to society if I give way to them. These are:—(1) *the devil and all his works*, the cold and cruel spiritual sins, such as pride, lying, tempting or harming others; (2) *the pomps and vanity of this wicked world*, most of the things for the sake of which wordly people try to “get on”; and (3) *all the sinful lusts of the flesh*, which make the drunkard, the prostitute, the glutton. Could the social reformer picture his Utopia better than as a world in which these three things had been finally renounced?

The Covenant, then, teaches that because we have been admitted into the Kingdom of Heaven we have (1) to Renounce what is wrong, (2) to Believe what is true, and (3) to Do what is right. We pass on, therefore, to (2) the Creed and (3) the Commandments.

## II

### THE CREED

As the Creed is a strictly theological document, you might expect it to be devoid of social teaching. Let us see if it is.

The opening words, *I believe in God*, are common to all theists—to Jews and Mohammedans as well as Christians. But as soon as we come to that part of the Creed which is distinctively Christian, we are at once involved again in the social side of religion. We believe *in Jesus Christ*, who hath *redeemed* not only you and me, but the whole human race—*all mankind*. We believe, not in some “Sultan in the Skies,” but in God who has manifested Himself in human flesh, *in Jesus Christ*, who was *born of* a peasant woman, who was

brought up as a working-man, who lived a hard life as one that had not where to lay His head, who *suffered under Pontius Pilate*, and *was crucified* as a malefactor. We believe that He triumphed over death, and *ascended into heaven* that He might fill *all things*,<sup>1</sup> and be the King whose law is to control every department of life, sacred and secular. We believe that this God, the Elder Brother of the human race, will *come to judge* us; and He Himself has told us that He will judge us according to our works of service to the poor and hungry, the sick and the outcast.<sup>2</sup> "Are you saved?" It is a familiar question. But the Catechism tells us that we are already in a *state of salvation*, because we are in the divine fellowship of the Kingdom; and whether we be finally saved will depend upon our social service.<sup>3</sup>

We believe also *in the Holy Ghost*, who is the Spirit of wisdom and understanding, the Inspirer of all that is strong and beautiful and holy, whose fruits are love, joy, peace, long-suffering, kindness, goodness, faithfulness, meekness, temperance.<sup>4</sup>

And this faith involves the belief also in *the holy Catholic Church*—that is to say, by our very belief in the Trinity we are pledged also to put our faith in the fellowship, in the society, the Kingdom of Heaven, which we have inherited and which is called the Holy Catholic Church. There are many individualists in the world—people, that is, who in emphasizing the individual element in man forget the social element—but can any one be an individualist who includes in his fundamental creed a belief in the holy Church? If any one thinks he can, the Apostles' Creed does its best to prevent him; for it goes on to add *the Communion of Saints*. Now a saint here means one who has been sanctified by admission into this holy Church. You and I are saints in this, the Scriptural sense,<sup>5</sup> as well as S. Paul, or S. John, or any other. So we declare our belief in the Fellowship of Christians, in the Brotherhood of the Baptized—a brotherhood so close and

<sup>1</sup> Eph. iv. 10.

<sup>2</sup> "Come, ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world: for I was an hungred, and ye gave me meat: I was thirsty, and ye gave me drink: I was a stranger, and ye took me in; naked, and ye clothed me: I was sick, and ye visited me: I was in prison, and ye came unto me."—(*S. Matt.* xxv. 34-36, R.V.)

<sup>3</sup> See the whole passage, *S. Matt.* xxv. 31-46.

<sup>4</sup> *Gal.* v. 22, R.V.

<sup>5</sup> See—e.g., the opening salutations of the Epistles to the Romans, Corinthians, Ephesians, Philippians, and Colossians.

intense that it is called a Communion. We are all bound together, both rich and poor, both living and departed, in "one Communion and Fellowship."

We conclude the Creed by declaring our belief in *the Resurrection of the body* and *the Life everlasting*, which shows that the body is not to be neglected, but is a holy thing to be kept in health and strength here, and to be prepared by temperance and self-control for its eternal destiny. Therefore we follow our Lord's example, and fight against disease and death, against moral decay and physical degeneration alike. For the body is the temple of the Holy Ghost, and the Word Himself was made flesh.

### III

#### THE DUTIES

The Commandments are divided into two tables; four Commandments tell my *duty towards God*, and six my *duty towards my Neighbour*.<sup>1</sup>

The Christian Social Union exists to impress upon people their duty towards their Neighbour. If people had not forgotten that duty, there would be no need of the Christian Social Union. If people had remembered that duty, then Christian countries would be distinguished by the Utopian happiness of their inhabitants, and our Lord's words would have come true, "Seek ye first the Kingdom of God, and his righteousness, and all things shall be added unto you"—there would be no anxiety about the morrow, and the back streets of our cities would reflect the beauty of the lilies and recall the splendour of Solomon in all his glory. Missionaries would go to Asia, and would only have to say: "Look at Europe. See how men love one another in Christendom. You who are not Christians may have guns and ironclads, you may have slums and starvation, you may tolerate cheating and oppression. But we who obey the Sermon on the Mount have none of these things. Look at

<sup>1</sup> The two Duties of the Catechism enlarge, of course, these ancient Jewish laws in a Christian sense. For instance, the command not to make an image or picture of anything whatever becomes a positive injunction to *worship him, to give him thanks*: the command to observe Saturday and keep it holy is interpreted to *serve him truly all the days of my life*: the command not to murder is made to cover all unkindness, and becomes to *hurt nobody by word nor deed*.

London, our largest city, how fair and kindly a home it is of happy men and women. Do not take us on our own word, but come and see for yourselves. Our Master Himself said you were to beware of false prophets ; come, then, and judge us by our fruits."

Ah ! And to-day the Japanese inquirer would say, " I have learnt a good deal from you about the most effective ways of destroying human life, and I thank you for your science. But as for your religion—well ! I find a great deal more that suggests the lilies of the field in Tokyo than in London."

And there is only one line of defence. We can first point out that the Christian races have been and are still the progressive races, and have secured certain definite and great principles of justice, mercy, and freedom.<sup>1</sup> Then for the rest we can only confess with bitterness of soul that we have been false to our religion. We may have been more or less orthodox about our duty to God ; but we have certainly been heretical about our duty to our Neighbour. We cannot at this moment bear to be judged by our fruits. We can only point in our humiliation to Christ and say—" Judge Christianity by Him. Do not judge it by Christendom. For we are heretics, and we have been false to our religion."

And Asia is judging us. Our only chance is that we shall make it clear that we do not accept the shame and misery into which Christendom has fallen, and that *the best Christians are labouring with all their might at social reform*. Asia is judging us—yes, and Europe, too ! The " masses " in the leading European countries are almost as indifferent to Christianity as Japan, and often as hostile as Turkey.

What answer have we ? Really I think we should have none if we could not point to bodies like the Christian Social Union,

<sup>1</sup> This is well shown by a comparison of Christendom with Islam :—  
" All the chief beliefs which have raised the human race—the belief, namely, that all races and religions are equally entitled to justice, order, freedom, to the protection of life and property and family honour ; that intellect, art, and material wealth should be developed ; that a man should have one wife only ; that women have souls equally with men ; that children should be revered ; that uncorrupt government is good, and violence bad.

" As a Mohamedan the Turk entirely denies any such rights or principles. What he might have been if Mohamedanism had not closed his mind before he came in contact with Christianity, we may see to-day from the Hungarians, people of the same blood, but among the most progressive of the earth."—Noel Buxton, *Europe and the Turks*, p. 67.



and say: "Here at least are 7,000 zealous Churchmen, with the Archbishop of Canterbury at their head, who do protest in the most vigorous way against the present state of things." If it were true, as many working-men still believe, that the Church cared only about keeping things as they are, and was only roused to action when her own endowments were threatened, then there would be no answer. We could only stand by, and see agnostics carrying out that Duty to our Neighbour in social reform which Christians had refused to do.

Now, a Union with 7,000 members is something. But it is ridiculously inadequate. If it had 7,000,000 members, people would believe that Christians are not responsible for the present horrible state of things—and *that state of things would have begun to pass away.*

Therefore, I say that it is your duty to join the Christian Social Union. The most pressing danger at the present day is that so many professing Christians are content to murmur, "How sad?" and to pass by on the other side.

And that is an apposite quotation, because it was in the parable of the Good Samaritan that our Lord gave His answer to the question, "Who is my neighbour?"

So I will not dwell on all the admirable details of the Third Part of the Catechism, for they are, after all, clear and simple enough.<sup>1</sup> And I rest on this, the main issue—that Religion consists of two Duties, that one is as essential as the other, that indeed, as S. John says, we cannot love God, whom we have not seen, unless we love our brother whom we have seen.<sup>2</sup> In other words, Religion without charity is hypocrisy. You cannot have it by halves. It is all or nothing. You must be a brother to man as well as a son to God. You cannot be spiritual unless you are social. You cannot love God unless you love your brother also, and that love must be active and entire—I must *love him as myself*, redress his miseries as if they were my own, and *do to all men, as I would they should do unto me.* "By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples."

<sup>1</sup> The concluding sentence is, however, often misquoted, and many people have the idea that the Catechism tries to keep poor people down in the state of life "in which it *has* pleased God to call them." Of course, what the Catechism says is that I am *to do my duty in that state of life, unto which it shall please God to call me*—which is the best social rule one can have.

<sup>2</sup> 1 John iv. 20. This whole First Epistle of S. John is a wonderful discourse on the importance of charity or mutual love.

## IV

## THE LORD'S PRAYER

This Prayer was originally given for private personal use,<sup>1</sup> so that if we were to find individualism anywhere in the Gospels, we should expect to find it here. Well! even when we pray to God secretly in our inner chamber, we may not say "I" or "My," but *Our Father*. We approach God in words which remind us that as we have a common Father in heaven, so we are brethren together on earth, praying as a family for each other.

And in this Prayer we think first of God's glory, and say, *Hallowed be thy Name*. Yet even here how closely are social questions involved! For, as we have just seen, the present condition of the Christian family is a disgrace to the Father's Name. Instead of being a reflection of the divine justice and the divine love, our modern cities grow despair and breed atheists; and of us it is true "the name of God is blasphemed among the Gentiles because of you."<sup>2</sup>

Then we pray for the coming of God's *kingdom* and the doing of His *will, in earth as it is in heaven*. It is characteristic of our popular perversions of Christianity that both these clauses have been given a proverbial meaning which is just the opposite of what they really say. "To go to 'Kingdom Come'" is popular slang for "to die." "Thy will be done" is a favourite motto on tombstones, and is invariably used as a sign of resignation in face of disaster. As if the Father's Will was that His children should writhe and perish! No, the Will of God is not that we should have death, but that we should have life, and that we should have it more abundantly<sup>3</sup>: the Will of God is that all men should be saved and come to the knowledge of the truth<sup>4</sup>: the Will of God is, in fact, that earth should be as happy as heaven. *Thy will be done* is humanity's prayer for perfection. And *thy kingdom come* is the cry of the prophet and true social reformer for the perfect reign of Christ upon earth.

"Thy kingdom come! on bended knee  
The passing ages pray;  
And faithful souls have yearned to see  
On earth that kingdom's day. . . .

The day in whose clear shining light  
All wrong shall stand revealed,

<sup>1</sup> S. Matt. vi. 6.

<sup>2</sup> Rom. ii. 24.

<sup>3</sup> S. John x. 10.

<sup>4</sup> 1 Tim. ii. 4.

When justice shall be throned in might,  
And every heart be healed;

When knowledge, hand in hand with peace,  
Shall walk the earth abroad;—  
The day of perfect righteousness,  
The promised day of God.”<sup>1</sup>

But, you may say, this is Utopianism! Yes; that is the point. Every Christian is bound to be a Utopian. This is his faith, because it is his prayer—*Lex orandi, lex credendi*. And people can no longer laugh at us Christians for being Utopian, because scientific discovery has shown that we are right. Nothing is more certain now than that man is steadily moving along the road of development towards perfection. We are at this moment somewhere between the “ape and tiger” stage and “the Christ that is to be.” There will arise a race of men who will look upon us with wonder as beings inconceivably coarse, and stupid, and squalid, and mean, and will pity us, as we pity now the primeval savage who haunted the caves of the neolithic age.

The Will of God will be done, *in earth as it is in heaven*; and we are put here to be fellow-workers with God for this ideal. That is why politics are for us not a party game, but a terribly serious part of our divine duty.

As Ruskin says: “When you pray ‘Thy Kingdom come,’ you either want it to come, or you don’t. If you don’t, you should not pray for it. If you do, you must do more than pray for it—you must live for it, and labour for the Kingdom of God.”

Then we pray, in this exalted prayer, for the most mundane of human necessities, *Give us this day our daily bread*. We are not bidden to lift ourselves in some Buddhist ecstasy above “human nature’s daily food.” And we pray, not for “me,” but for *us*. We ask, not that some of us may have champagne and motor-cars while others starve,—we desire, not luxuries for any, but necessities for all, that *all people* may have *all things that be needful*. Again, we are reminded that we must “live more nearly as we pray.” We must be “ready to distribute.”<sup>2</sup> The poor man, God help him! may perhaps be thinking of himself when he says *give us*; but the well-to-do cannot hope to escape the fate of Dives unless he thinks of Lazarus, for he prays that he may spend less upon himself so that Lazarus may have more to spend.

<sup>1</sup> *English Hymnal*, No. 504.

<sup>2</sup> 1 Tim. vi. 18.

Then we ask for forgiveness. Here, at last, surely, we shall pray as individuals! Here, at last, "I" shall deal direct with my Maker, and I may justly echo the cry of religious individualism that "no man shall come between me and my God!" So heresy has said; but there is a special clause inserted to guard against this very danger—*As we forgive them that trespass against us.* Here, even here, this obstinate Neighbour of mine appears! And I am taught again that in truth every man comes between me and "our" God.

I need not dwell upon the end, *lead us not into temptation, But deliver us from evil*; for the whole religious world has been driven by the curse of intemperance to recognize that you cannot remove at least one form of temptation without social reform. But I would remind you that every other social reform is also an attempt to remove temptation. Our present housing of the poor, under which hundreds of thousands of men and women, boys and girls, live in one-roomed homes—this produces the most horrible temptation. And what of the temptations of the rich young man? What of the temptations of the poor young woman? What of the sweating system? What of education? And what—if it be indeed true that we cannot serve both God and Mammon—what of the whole basis of modern society?

## V

### THE SACRAMENTS

The individual is helped to Renounce what is wrong, to Believe what is true, and to Do what is right, by means of Prayer and Sacraments. Thus the five Parts of the Catechism.

Yet not for one moment is he allowed to forget that he is a social individual. And the Sacramental teaching clinches the whole.

The very word *Sacrament*, so admirably defined as *an outward and visible sign of an inward and spiritual grace*, reminds us at the outset of the sacredness of common, earthly things. Sacramentalism is a distinctive mark of the Christian religion—Christ Himself is the outward and visible sign of the Godhead—and sacramentalism saves us both from materialism and from the false spiritualism that ignores material things. For it teaches that the two are knit together, and that the material is the outward sign of the spiritual. All



the world is the visible sign of the Spirit; every flower is, as Kingsley said, "a wayside sacrament"; every man is a spirit that builds about itself an outward body; and all this present life is but the sacrament of the life eternal that knows no death. And it is always the spirit that matters.

The Catechism tells us about *two* great Sacraments, solemnly *ordained by Christ* as His last will and testament before He closed His earthly ministry—*Baptism, and the Supper of the Lord*.

They are given us, the one to begin, the other to nourish and continue our spiritual life. That is common-sense: man wants food for his spiritual life as much as for his natural life; man, himself a sacrament of two parts, needs nourishment for his soul as well as his body. And, indeed, that which strengthens the soul does also strengthen the body, "The Body of our Lord Jesus Christ . . . preserve thy body and soul." Thus the Sacraments teach the unity of man.

They also teach the unity of *men*. In other words, they are intensely social. They are the great practical means of brotherhood.

*Baptism* we have already considered in discussing the Covenant. We saw that in it every little baby, however poor, however humble, is given his kingdom—not because he is converted, but just because he is a human being. He is admitted into a state of salvation by being received into a holy fellowship. Baptism brings brotherhood.

This is not some novel doctrine of up-to-date young parsons in the Christian Social Union. It is as old as the earliest of New Testament theologians. In S. Paul's time, class-distinctions, race-distinctions, and the distinctions of sex were intensely strong. Yet he taught that in Baptism they were all swept away—

"For in one Spirit were we all baptized into one body, whether Jews or Greeks, whether bond or free."<sup>1</sup>

And again—

"For as many of you as were baptized into Christ did put on Christ. There can be neither Jew nor Greek, there can be neither bond nor free, there can be no male and female; for ye all are one man in Christ Jesus."<sup>2</sup>

Perhaps we shall realize better the intensity of all this if we put it into modern language, "there can be neither

<sup>1</sup> 1 Cor. xii. 13.

<sup>2</sup> Gal. iii. 27, 28; cf. Col. iii. 11.

Briton nor nigger, neither duke nor ploughman"; for we are all one, "and all the members of the body, being many, are one body"<sup>1</sup>; and, again, "whether one member suffereth, all the members suffer with it; or one member is honoured, all the members rejoice with it."<sup>2</sup> Ah! what an irony it seems on the Christian world of to-day! How little orthodox we are!

Some people do not go to Church. They fancy that they are too "superior" to worship God with their fellow-men, and they say that they feel more religious of a Sunday "under the blue dome of heaven." Now, this is pure individualism: if it is religious at all, it is religion without fellowship, and it grew up in an anti-social age. The Christianity of Christ guards against such individualism by gathering us together round the Lord's Table. So S. Paul, who points the social moral of Baptism, draws precisely the same lesson from the second great Sacrament, the *Supper of the Lord*, or Holy Communion:—

"The bread which we break, is it not a communion of the body of Christ? seeing that we, who are many, are one bread, one body: for we all partake of the one bread."<sup>3</sup>

And this is the moral of it, "Let no man seek his own, but each his neighbour's good."<sup>4</sup>

Indeed, the highest act of Christian worship is just this—the gathering of brethren round a common Table to partake together of a holy Food. And in that act of eating the same Bread, and drinking from the same Cup, we are *one*—rich and poor are one bread, one body.

Is that not the last word upon the social character of our holy religion? To be in a brotherhood so intense, that we become *one*—can anything further be said?

Only this, which always has been said from the earliest days of the Church—

"If you are thus sharers in the imperishable things, how much more must you be sharers in those things that are perishable. Therefore thou shalt not turn away from him that hath need, but shalt share all things with thy brother, and shalt not say that anything is thine own."<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 1 Cor. xii. 12.    <sup>2</sup> Ibid. xii. 26.    <sup>3</sup> Ibid. x. 16, 17.    <sup>4</sup> Ibid. 24.

<sup>5</sup> *Didachè*, or "Teaching of the Twelve Apostles" (c. 200 A.D.), iv, 8.



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# TRADE UNIONISM

BY     =     =     =     =     =

H. B. LEES SMITH, M.A.

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*Price One Penny*

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# The Christian Social Union

President :

THE BISHOP OF BIRMINGHAM.

THIS Union consists of Members of the Church of England who have the following objects at heart :—

1. To claim for the Christian law the ultimate authority to rule social practice.
2. To study in common how to apply the moral truths and principles of Christianity to the social and economic difficulties of the present time.
3. To present Christ in practical life as the living Master and King, the enemy of wrong and selfishness, the power of righteousness and love.

# TRADE UNIONISM

BY

H. B. LEES SMITH, M.A.

DIRECTOR OF STUDIES AND CHAIRMAN OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE AT  
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THIS pamphlet is addressed to those who have not read many of the more recent discussions on Trade Unionism. The writer has been asked to explain to them what a modern labour leader would say in support of his position.

## THE ECONOMIC ARGUMENT

In industry employers and workmen face each other as buyers and sellers of a certain service—labour. The price to be paid for it is determined, like the price of anything else, by the “higgling of the market.” Hence the workman’s wage, and therefore, in great part, his standard of life, is dependent upon his negotiations with his employer. But he has a shrewd suspicion that when the isolated labourer attempts to bargain with an employer or with a combination of employers all the advantages are on the other side. He feels that he is by no means certain of obtaining all that his labour is worth, when, with little or no money behind him, and unversed in bargaining, he faces the great firm, with its masses of capital and its skilled negotiators, linked perhaps with other firms in a common wage policy. The impulse to combine with his fellow-workmen arises, and a Trade Union is formed. We will explain more fully what is in his mind.

If one of the parties to a bargain is in such a position that, however unfavourable be the terms which he is offered, he cannot hold out against them for long, the chances are against him. If, at the same time, the other party can well

afford to wait indefinitely, the inequality of strength becomes more glaring. In consequence of this the workman of to-day feels the truth of the words written by Adam Smith in 1776—"In all disputes the masters can hold out much longer. Many workmen could not subsist a week, few could subsist a month, and scarce any a year without employment. In the long run the workman may be as necessary to his master as his master is to him; but the necessity is not so immediate."<sup>1</sup> But, with a Trade Union behind him, the workman is able to fall back, not merely upon his own insignificant savings, but upon the accumulated funds of thousands of his fellows.

Mr. T. S. Cree, the most acute of recent critics of Trade Unionism, will not accept this reasoning.

"Economists write as if a total or partial stoppage of work meant to an employer only a little less profit at the end of the year, while to the workman it is a question of life and death for himself and his family. Now men of business know that most employers work largely with borrowed capital, and that their own capital is often a small part of the total amount of capital employed. They must pay interest on their borrowed capital, and the stoppage of work through a strike, or a number of machines standing idle, often means not less profit, but an absolute loss, and, if long continued, total ruin."<sup>2</sup>

But the argument of the economist is that the employer has the advantage over the isolated worker. To point out that if there is "a stoppage of work through a strike," that is, if the workmen are no longer acting separately, but have combined, the advantage disappears, confirms instead of refuting the reasoning.

### THE BUSINESS OF BARGAINING

There are other disadvantages pressing upon the workman who stands alone. Negotiation is a business in itself, but it is not the business of a manual worker. His function is to labour. It is, however, the special work of the employer. He, or his representatives, know the condition of the market, can calculate how much the labour of the workman is worth to them, and can also form a shrewd opinion of how little he will accept.

<sup>1</sup> *Wealth of Nations*, chap. viii.

<sup>2</sup> *Criticism of the Theory of Trade Unions*, p. 21.



Negotiations over wages between the employer and the labourer thus resolve themselves into a match between a professional and an amateur. Again the chances are against the workmen, and again he saves himself by his Trade Union. The officers of his Union do for him what he cannot do, and ought not to spend his time in doing, for himself. They make it their work to know the state of the trade, to enter into the intricate calculations often needed for piece-work systems, and to meet the employers on equal terms. Those who follow the proceedings of conciliation boards know that the workmen's representatives are quite able to hold their own with the foremost employers of labour. Besides, they depend for their livelihood only upon the men themselves, and their claws are not drawn by the fear of being victimized, which faces an ordinary workman if he puts himself at the head of a demand for better conditions. When the middle-class worker is faced by the same difficulty he meets it by the same device. Authors, for instance, whose business is to write and not to bargain, often feel themselves to be too much in the power of their publishers. Hence, in the last few years, we have seen the rise of a new profession, that of authors' agents, who do for their clients much that a Trade Union leader does for his followers.

#### OTHER CONDITIONS OF LABOUR

We have, hitherto, spoken only of wages. But the welfare of the workman depends just as much upon the provisions made to keep the factory clean and healthy, to regulate the length and intensity of his labour, to guard him from accident, and to compensate him if accident occurs. Here the isolated workmen is still less able to defend himself, and here again the Union steps in. In many Unions the time of the officials is more fully occupied by these subjects than by questions of wages. The proportion that this work assumes in a large Society can be seen by a few extracts from the *Manifesto to Non-Unionists*, just issued by the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants :—

“During the year 1903—the last for which the complete returns issued by the Board of Trade are available—497 railway men were killed,

and 14,356 were injured in the United Kingdom. The Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants realized that many of these accidents might be prevented, and would be prevented, if steps were taken to remove unnecessary dangers. Below are particulars of dangerous cases dealt with during the last four-and-a-half years, and it will be seen that in 85 per cent. of the cases taken up, the A.S.R.S. have been successful in causing improvements to be made.

“Another fruitful cause of accidents is long hours. Upon this question the A.S.R.S. has taken a firm stand, and by all the means at its disposal has worked in the direction of getting the well-known excessive hours reduced to reasonable periods. During the last four-and-a-half years no less than 233 complaints were lodged with the Board of Trade by the A.S.R.S.

“Then, again, a tremendous amount of work has been done at the Head Office in advising members how to act with a view to securing adequate compensation for injuries received, and in taking legal proceedings whenever friendly negotiations have failed to secure justice. During the last four-and-a-half years no less than 348 fatal cases were dealt with, and the lump sums obtained as compensation totalled £49,716. 9s. 11d.

“In many other directions the interests of our members have been protected legally, and of the 161 legal cases we have had during the period under notice, 122 have been successful.”

In many of these cases the State has stepped in and taken the responsibility of defending the workman upon its own shoulders. But even then the Union still has a work to do. It has to ensure that the law is enforced, and that the worst employers are thus brought up to the level of the best. How this is effected may be seen by an extract from a letter to the writer by a Lancashire cottonweaver :—

“It is a common thing for Secretaries of Trade Unions to write to the Inspectors, if there are any complaints about running over-time. Still, it is not known to the public. It is about seven years since I was on the Committee of the — Association, having been elected to go on as a delegate to the — Amalgamation Meeting, which was held every six weeks. I brought before the meeting, on my own accord, about our mill running over-time. The day I went to the meeting the mill should have stopped running at 12.30, but I came out of the mill at 12.50, and it was still running. Mr. —, our Secretary, told me he would see to it, but he told me not to mention it to any one, because if it got to

the ears of the Masters' Federation I should be victimized. In less than fourteen days the Inspectors appeared and caught them running over time. The sequel was £60.

### CRITICISMS OF TRADE UNIONISM

These considerations furnish the first line in the defence of Trade Unionism. But we shall not do justice to the subject unless we explain thoroughly the views of its opponents. Now, therefore, for a time we shall assume the role of a critic of Trade Unionism. The arguments used up to the present refer only to "short run" effects. They merely explain how a workman may make a better bargain with his employer, and there they leave the matter. But it must not be left there, for, whatever wage the workman obtains, other forces are brought into play which "in the long run" dominate the situation. In order to trace these "long run" effects we must make a short incursion into economic theory.

Capital is drawn to, or repelled from, a trade by the profits which are to be obtained in it. If these profits rise above the normal level new employers are attracted into the trade, while those already there increase their scale of production. Thus the eventual result is that the output of the trade is increased, the prices of its products fall, and profits sink back to the normal level. Similarly, if the profits are reduced below the normal level, the capital in the trade gradually diminishes. The supply of its products, therefore, decreases, and their prices rise until the profits are once again at the normal level. How does this reasoning affect Trade Unions? It is argued that it leads to the conclusion that, with or without them, the wages in a trade are "in the long run" determined at a certain level by the forces of supply or demand. No combination of employers can for long force them below it, and no Union can keep them above it. Unions, therefore, it is claimed, are unnecessary for defence and useless for aggression.

To follow the argument, let us imagine a trade in which, to begin with, free competition reigns supreme. There is no combination among either employers or workmen. The profits of the employers and the wages of the workmen are about the

same as similar capital, enterprise, skill, and industry could obtain elsewhere. Now imagine the employers to succeed in forcing the workman to accept lower wages. Is a Union necessary to enable him to raise them back again? No, answer its critics, for the action of the employers will "in the long run" defeat itself. Profits were at the normal level before. Now that wages have been reduced, they are above the normal level. But we have already seen that, if this is so, capital eventually enters the trade. Hence the demand for labour in it rises. At the same time, since the workmen are receiving less than with similar skill and industry they can earn elsewhere, their numbers gradually diminish. Thus, while on the one side employers are seeking for more labour, on the other, men are steadily drifting away. To this there can be only one end. Wages will rise again. Hence, the fact that employers beat wages down, has itself, without any Trade Union, set into operation forces which, in the long run, beat them up again. From this it is argued that a Union is unnecessary.

By parallel reasoning, if the workmen on their part assume the offensive, form a Union, and succeed in forcing their wages above those earned by similar industry and skill elsewhere, capital leaves the trade, and more labour seeks to enter it. Hence, at the same moment that fewer men are wanted, more are looking for places, and wages must, in the long run, fall to the old level. For aggressive purposes, therefore, Unions are powerless. The argument is summed up by Mr. T. S. Cree: "While the terms of a particular bargain are of importance to the individual workman and employer concerned, they are not of much importance to the workmen and employers as a whole, as there is always a compensating action going on which is bringing back wages to a true economical point."<sup>1</sup>

This is the main criticism of Trade Unionism. It must be said at once that it contains a considerable element of truth. Its value is that it enables us to obtain a proper perspective of the limits to the possibilities of Trade Union action. We are prevented from sharing the extravagant hopes of some of its

<sup>1</sup> *A Criticism of the Theory of Trade Unionism*, p. 11.

advocates, but we are at the same time saved from the equally extravagant fears of some of its opponents.

### THE ANSWER

The Trade Unionist, however, has his reply. Even if wages will eventually reach "a true economical point," this is only to take place "in the long run." But how long is the run? If, for instance, wages are forced below the true economical point, what length of time will elapse before sufficient men have moved into other trades to raise them back again? If, moreover, the tendency is for these other trades also to be dominated by combinations of employers, what is the workman to do then? These questions may refer only to "short run" effects, but meanwhile the workman is the loser. The short run of economic theory may cut a considerable length out of his working life. If he always bears the brunt of the fluctuations of wages while the masters always reap the advantage, the average of his wages will clearly be lowered. Why should he tolerate such a position? Trade Unions enable him to resist this downward pressure, and perhaps to substitute an upward pressure in his own favour.

### THE GOVERNMENT OF A TRADE UNION

We have hitherto spoken only of the general principles of Trade Unionism. But our account would not be complete without some description of their government and of the men who control them.

A large Trade Union generally has a separate branch or lodge in every district where a few of its members are employed. The Amalgamated Society of Engineers, for instance, has 676 branches, scattered throughout Great Britain, Canada, Australia, South Africa, New Zealand, and has even a few in the United States. The central government is in the hands of an Executive Committee. The General Secretary, the outstanding figure in the Society, devotes the whole of his time to the work, and receives a salary of from £150 to £300 a year. The Executive Committee usually consists of men still employed at the trade, and coming up to the head office at certain intervals to hold



their meetings. In some Unions, however, for example, in those of the Engineers and the Boiler Makers, the members of the Executive Committee also are permanent officials. The work of the branches is mostly in the hands of branch Secretaries, who seldom receive any payment. These men spend hours each night after having already done the day's work of an ordinary man, in masses of inglorious labour, such as keeping accounts, writing minutes, corresponding with employers, and preparing reports for the head office, inspired by a devotion not unlike that found among those who do the voluntary work of many religious bodies.

One of the most important problems in the constitution of a Trade Union is also met with in that of a nation. How much power is to be given to the local authorities, and how much retained at headquarters? The reason that we refer to this is that one point in the answer given by most of the larger Unions is of peculiar importance. Strike pay is in the hands of the central Executive Committee. If a local branch comes out on strike without the consent of headquarters it must do so at its own expense. Any action which depletes the funds of the Society concerns the members as a whole, and must therefore be decided by the central officials, who represent the interests of all. The effective power to strike does not, therefore, rest with those who are in the heat of the conflict, but with men who, often from hundreds of miles away, view the situation coolly as an incident of their daily business. Their personal bias, indeed, is inclined to be strongly in favour of peace. The General Secretary of an established Union has little to gain and much to lose from a conflict. He will be involved in an immensity of labour and anxiety. If it succeeds he personally is in much the same situation as before. If it fails, discontent with his administration breaks out, rival candidates appear as his time for re-election approaches, and he may have to fight hard even to keep his position. So it happens that Trade Union officials are more often engaged in holding their followers back than in urging them on. Few of them escape being denounced for cowardice, and are often accused of having been "nobbled" by the employers. The "paid agitator" pictured

by newspapers is a very rare figure, and, when he is seen, he is found among the most struggling and least important Unions. Men who are engaged in continual negotiations with the ablest employers of labour, and whose decisions involve vast sums of money, rapidly develop into professional men of the most cautious type. A stranger wandering into the annual Trade Union Congress, and looking down on the rows of delegates with their resolute faces, their neat clothes, and their clear-cut speech, might imagine that he was present at a gathering of leading business administrators. The idea of the ordinary Trade Union official as a "paid agitator" is found more frequently among those who never meet one, than among the employers of labour who deal with him face to face. The latter, on the contrary, are often on terms of cordial friendship with him, calling him by his christian name. Two years ago a testimonial was subscribed for "Mabon" (William Abraham, M.P.), the most conspicuous labour leader who has been known among the South Wales miners. It was initiated by the employers, and a great proportion of the subscriptions came from them.

### FRIENDLY BENEFITS

A common mistake is the belief that the main part of the expenditure of a Trade Union is for fighting purposes. The strike is, indeed, the weapon which it always holds in reserve ; but, in addition, each member usually looks to it to enable him to provide, by his own forethought, against many of the contingencies of life. If he is out of work, or ill, or if an accident strikes him down, it comes to his aid. When he dies it saves him from a pauper's burial. In some cases it supports him in his old age. All this it does out of the savings of himself and his fellow-members. At a liberal estimate not more than one-fifth of the average expenditure of Trade Unions is on strikes or disputes. The following figures, published in the latest Report on Trade Unions issued by the Board of Trade is worth careful attention.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Report of the Chief Labour Correspondent of the Board of Trade on Trade Union in 1902-4*, Cd. 2838, pp. 15, 7, 23.

EXPENDITURE OF THE 100 PRINCIPAL UNIONS DURING  
THE TEN YEARS FROM 1895-1904

Total expenditure	... ..	£16,060,000.
Expenditure on "Disputes" or "Strikes"	... ..	£2,343,000, or 14·6 per cent.
Expenditure on Unemployed or Out of Work Benefit	..	£3,608,000, or 22·5 per cent.
Expenditure on Other Benefits (principally sick, accident, funeral, and superannuation or old age)	... ..	£6,658,000, or 41·4 per cent.
Expenditure on Working, and Miscellaneous expenses	... ..	£3,451,000, or 21·5 per cent.

It will be seen from these figures that only 14·6 per cent. of the expenditure has been on strikes. But there is some difficulty in distinguishing payments to the Unemployed from payments due to a dispute, as unemployed benefit is often given to those whose non-employment is either directly or indirectly due to a strike. The Report states that in such cases the amount has been estimated, where possible, and treated as dispute benefit. It is, however, best to allow for some miscalculation, and merely to say that certainly not more than 20 per cent., or one-fifth, is spent upon strikes.

Some of these benefits can, of course, be provided by Friendly Societies; but the most important of them, the "Unemployed Benefit," upon which alone more is spent than upon strikes, is peculiar to Trade Unions. The persons who know with most certainty whether a man is genuinely unemployed or not are those who work day by day at his side. Hence Trade Unions, consisting of men working together at the same trade, at present stand out as incomparably the most successful agencies for the relief of unemployment.

We have stated the main considerations upon which a judgment of Trade Unions should depend. We cannot enter in detail into the different methods adopted by each of them. But it ought not to be denied that these methods may sometimes be mischievous, as, for example, although this device is disappearing, when a Union puts unnecessary difficulties in the

way of those who wish to enter the trade. But the readers for whom this pamphlet is written should remember that they are likely to hear much more of the attacks on Trade Unions than of their defence. Lately, for instance, the most common charge has been that some Unions try to prevent one man from earning more than others. It must be said frankly that Trade Unions are not without faults. Where they have hindered men doing their best and fullest work they have done wrong, and tended to bring their movement into discredit. There are, however, qualifying circumstances. The charge is not brought against those who are paid piece-wages, and the great majority of Trade Unionists work under that system. In those cases of payment by time, where the evil occurs, the explanation is often as follows. There are many "jobs" on which a gang of men have to work together, so that the pay of all must be the same. But the strength of all is not the same. An inevitable dilemma therefore presents itself. Either the weaker must be driven beyond their strength, or the stronger must work below their strength. Employers naturally find it well worth while to pay the most powerful man a little extra, or to give him a glass of beer to work to the top of his strength, and so to compel the rest to hustle after him. But the others naturally protest against being driven beyond their powers by these "sloggers" or "chasers." To them it appears an attempt on the part of the employers to pay one man a few pence extra in order to "sweat" an unreasonable amount of work out of the rest without paying for it. Thus, even in what appears to be one of the least defensible devices of Trade Unionism, there are distinctly two sides to the question.

In any case, our judgment of Trade Unionism should be formed on the general principles for which it stands, rather than on its incidental merits or defects. Nothing is so mischievous as to attack Trade Unions in general because of particular methods adopted by some of them. Those at fault are not improved by indiscriminate onslaughts on their good and bad characteristics alike. The better-conducted are embittered by the injustice, and taught to believe that the more comfortable classes can be moved by nothing but force.

## A SCHOOL OF SELF-GOVERNMENT

The future historian may point to our discussions on Trade Unionism as a curious example of a lack of proper perspective. He may see that their real importance lay in their political effect, and not in the merely economic questions of whether they raised or lowered wages, or whether they helped or hindered trade. Political philosophers have insisted that in order to ensure the qualities required for democratic government the active citizens should have the opportunity for continuous experience in the conduct of self-governing institutions. There are now sixty-three working men in the House of Commons, of whom fifty-six are Trade Union officials. Many observers have been surprised at the ease with which they have adjusted themselves to that assembly, and at the great respect which they command there. But this was expected by all who knew much of our artizan life. The country is covered by a network of self-governing institutions in which the energetic young workman is continually training himself in the arts of a representative assembly. He spends night after night each week in helping to administer Trade Unions, Co-operative Societies, Friendly Societies, Working Men's Clubs, or the organizations attached to many religious bodies. These are the sources from which the capacity for self-government is drawn, and the most important of them is the Trade Union.

Let us follow the career of a young workman who is destined to represent his fellows in the House of Commons. He begins as an active member of his Trade Union branch. He is soon elected on to its Committee, and finally becomes its Secretary. Then, during a course of years, his reputation spreads through the other branches in the country. Meanwhile, he wins a seat on the Council or Board of Guardians of his town, becomes known as one of its leading local administrators, and so prepares himself for wider spheres. A vacancy occurs at last on the Central Executive Committee. Many candidates are nominated, but he, no longer young, triumphs over them. More years pass, and then the great opportunity arrives. The General Secretary dies, or retires, and the Union



is agitated by the contest for the succession. Eager canvassing begins, manifestos are issued setting forth the claims of the different candidates, many of them well-known figures already. At last our friend wins the position for which, when he started his upward course, there were perhaps fifty or a hundred thousand possible competitors. Now comes a period of still greater responsibility, in which he plays his part in controlling the destinies of one of our national industries. Finally, he is elected to represent an industrial constituency in the House of Commons. Is it surprising that he does not compare so unfavourably with rising barristers, or young men with family influence, but no personal achievement behind them?

It is, then, as a training ground for self-government that Trade Unionism may most profoundly modify the course of our history. Already it is remarkable that the political labour movement in Great Britain is following a course which marks it off sharply from the parallel movements on the Continent. One reason is that here it is dominated by practical administrators trained in the school of Trade Unionism. Not only, too, do Trade Unions train our artisans in democracy, but they prove them to be ready for it. For here we have already great self-governing institutions which have arisen, not from legislation and not from the patronage of the more comfortable classes—for they have feared and tried to strangle them—but from the natural genius of our people.

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### BOOKS ON THE SUBJECT

**Marshall's Economics of Industry.** Chapter on Trade Unions.  
3/6. Macmillan.

**Sidney and Beatrice Webb's Industrial Democracy.** Two volumes. 25/-. Longmans.

**Sidney and Beatrice Webb's History of Trade Unionism.**  
7/6. Longmans.

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# MUNICIPAL TRADING

BY

A. J. CARLYLE, M.A.

CHAPLAIN AND LECTURER OF UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, OXFORD

THERE has recently been a good deal of excited talk in the newspapers and magazines about the dangerous extent of Municipal Trading; some people seem to think that this constitutes a very serious danger to private enterprise, and are very much alarmed at what they consider to be the socialistic tendency of such trading. It may therefore be useful to consider some of the actual facts about the amount and character of Municipal Trading, and some of the circumstances which may lead us to welcome rather than to fear its extension.

**In the first place it is well to know what Municipal Trading actually is.** What is the nature of the trade which is done by the municipalities of the country, and the amount of capital invested? No complete analysis of this has been published since the return made to the House of Commons in 1903, but the *Municipal Year Book for 1907* (p. 635) gives us the total sums invested, and the undertakings in which they are invested, taken from the official returns.

The total amount of capital is, in England and Wales, £195,691,016. A large sum, you will say! A most alarming and dangerous indebtedness, I can imagine some of our friends exclaiming. Well, I suppose this depends upon the character of the investments. Out of this total, £65,495,976 are invested in water works, and £23,283,800 in gas works. I do not suppose that most people would describe these undertakings as wildly speculative and recklessly unnecessary. Out of the remaining amount £7,637,756 are invested in markets, £41,192,493 in harbours and docks, £2,743,171 in baths and wash-houses, £3,110,275 in burial-grounds; to these again I suppose few people would object, though it may be regretfully owned, that neither funerals nor washing pay. Then we have £21,636,416 in tramways and light railways, £22,000,567 in the supply of electricity, £8,208,525 in working-class dwellings, and finally £382,037 on other reproductive undertakings.

**The table makes it sufficiently clear that the "Reproductive Undertakings" of the municipalities are of a sensible and solid kind,** that to talk wildly about dangerous interference with private enterprise is really foolish, and that to describe these investments as the heaping up of an intolerable burden of indebtedness is only to make it clear that the critic is incapable of understanding what he is talking about.

Having thus, I hope, reassured ourselves a little about the actually existing circumstances, we may proceed to consider the economic basis and circumstances of Municipal Trading. In the first place I must ask you to consider what we may call the **economics of monopolies**. It is easy to understand that there are certain undertakings which can in the nature of things only be carried out by one person or firm in any one place. We could not, for instance, have two or three rival companies running different sets of tramway lines through the same streets ; a town must give the right to do this to one company, and thus gives this company a monopoly. So with the supply of gas or water or electricity. The supply of such things can usually only be carried out under conditions of monopoly, and **monopolies are best under the immediate control of the community**. If you ask for the reason of this, the reply is very simple. The holder of a monopoly, so long as he can make his profit, has no special inducement to consider the convenience of the public. If we don't like the boots which we get at our bootmaker's we go to another, but if we don't find our tramways convenient, or are dissatisfied with the character and conditions of our water supply, we may have no remedy. The holder of a monopoly will indeed always make such improvements as he feels sure will bring him in a larger profit, but if the public convenience requires a larger outlay of capital which will not bring in a larger proportion of profit, or the financial results of which are at all uncertain, the monopolist will not carry this out. His object is profit, while the public wishes convenience.

**It is therefore obvious that the public should directly and immediately control all large undertakings which supply things of public necessity or convenience, and which have the character of monopolies.** If you will now turn back to our examination of the returns, you will see that the greater part of the undertakings there dealt with have this character.

We have thus dealt with the circumstances which make Municipal Trading, as we now know it, desirable and even necessary : we may now go on to consider certain characteristics of industry which indicate that the public control and management of industry can be, and will probably need to be, greatly extended. And first we may inquire as to the economical possibility of doing this.

It was generally assumed in economic works that industry is best carried on under the terms of competition for profit, that it is by means of this competition that industrial methods have advanced, and that the customer has found his convenience consulted. It is often suggested that the salaried official of a public business could have no such powerful stimulus to personal efficiency, and that therefore the substitution of public for private ownership and control would prove economically ruinous to any society. Before we give our assent to such a judgment, it is well to observe some of the actual characteristics of **modern industry**.

Nothing is more characteristic of modern industry than the tendency towards the substitution of the joint stock company for the old private firm. In every department of industry this process is taking place. It is possible that this change may be accompanied by some loss of industrial efficiency, but what is quite certain is that the transition is itself the result of the operation of economic forces. For our purpose it is surely of importance to take account of this fact, and to observe how the direction of industry is in a large measure passing into the hands of salaried officials. As I have said, it is quite possible that the change has involved some loss of industrial efficiency in some directions, but no one seriously maintains that industry is being ruined by it. The truth is, no doubt, that besides the economical advantages which belong to the greater scale on which production is carried on, the advantage derived from the direct stimulus of profit under the old system may be more than counterbalanced by the greater skill and intelligence which is at the service of the joint stock companies.

It is indeed probable that there may always be a difference between the more speculative and the normal productive enterprise, that the more speculative form of industry will continue to depend largely upon the initiative and enterprise of individual men who are directly interested in the possible profits of such concerns. But it must be remembered that while we can draw no fixed line between the speculative and the normal business of a community, the former is only a part and the smaller part of the industry of the country. **It is, then, clear that in the organization of industry the salaried official is tending to take the place of the owner.** It cannot therefore be seriously maintained that it is impossible for industrial concerns which are controlled or owned by the public to find efficient servants.

It remains to consider certain characteristics of industry which seem to indicate that it may prove necessary to extend the public control over at least some of the important forms of industry. We have just seen that the private firm is giving way to the joint stock company. It is, I think, true to say that the company competing with other companies in one industry is tending to give place to the great combination which is sometimes called a **Trust or Syndicate**, the great combination which includes all, or nearly all, the firms engaged in one industry in a country. The causes which seem to be producing this tendency are complex, and we cannot now enter into them, but undoubtedly one most important cause lies in the unexpected results which have actually attended the working of competition in industry. It is, I think, true to say that in many industries these great combinations have been formed because the firms conducting that business were ruining each other and themselves in the frenzied struggle of competition, by underselling each other. Underselling is a ruinous business when the price is reduced below the cost of production, and one cannot wonder that the longer-headed men among the leaders of industry have recognized that



combination would often work far better, at least for the producer, than competition. It is true that it is in the United States, and under the shelter of high protective duties that the Trusts have been most developed, but the economic forces which have produced them there are at work in this country also. These great combinations will, just in proportion to their success, tend to become a **possible source of danger to the community**. It may only be in highly protectionist countries that they can attain the position of complete monopolies, but even in Free Trade countries a completely organized combination, including the whole of one trade, will tend to have this character; and therefore **in the interests of the community they may need to be in a large measure under public control**.

I have thus endeavoured to point out that there are circumstances in the organization of industry at the present day which seem to show that in the near future we may require greatly to extend the public control over those great industries which are specially necessary to the public well-being; and I have already pointed out that the notion that public control or ownership of industrial concerns will necessarily cause them to be inefficient and unproductive, rests upon an assumption which is not warranted by the facts, and that **we may look forward without any great economical anxiety to a great development of municipal and other public enterprises in the future**.

It remains, however, true that such changes in the industrial organization will throw new and heavy burdens upon those who are charged with the care of our municipal affairs, will bring with them new responsibilities, and new temptations, indeed the risk of such changes lies rather in the moral than in the economical region. Our municipal institutions have not always been as wholly free from suspicion as might have been wished: the danger of corruption will be increased with the extension of municipal trading.

The progress of society will not, however, stand still while we stand nervously and anxiously on one side. Our task is surely to do all that lies in us to set forward such an increased sense of public responsibility, of the sacred obligation of public service, that men of religion and of honour may recognize the call to serve God in the service of our cities and counties. **There is no task which is more directly laid upon such a society as our Christian Social Union than that of working for the true appreciation by Christian men of the obligation of the public service**; there is no service which we can render to our country and our generation greater than that of setting forward a higher spirit, a nobler sense of the obligations and the responsibilities of public life.

*Books on the subject will be found in No. 6. All C.S.U. publications can be obtained from the Hon. Sec. C.S.U. Literature Committee, 102 Adelaide Road, London, N.W., and from the addresses below.*

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# RELIGION AND WAGES

BY

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**T**HERE are, no doubt, still some people who think that there is no relation between religion and wages, and, perhaps, even those who do understand that there is some relation between them do not understand how important it is.

Some of the old political economy books say that wages are determined by the demand for and the supply of labour, and that they cannot be affected by anything else, so that it is useless even to consider what is a fair and reasonable wage, or to try to persuade people to pay it. **We all know now that this is simply a mistake**, but the influence of these old false views may still be traced in the notion that religion can have nothing to say in determining the rates of wages, but that these must be left to be determined by economic forces. **We, on the contrary, wish to urge upon you that there is no test of the truth of your religion so real as this question: "What rate of wages do you pay?" "What wages are paid to the people who make the things which you buy?"**

Wages are actually determined at present by many and complicated causes, but if we put the matter summarily, wages are actually in most cases the least that the employer can get the labourer to

take, the most that the worker can get the employer to give. Wages are determined, not by the needs of the worker, but, except in a few cases, and except when the Trade Unions have been able to fix a standard or "living" wage, by economic conditions and circumstances which take no account of his needs.

What are the results of this? The results of this are that a certain number of highly skilled artisans have been able to secure for themselves wages which may average from thirty to fifty shillings in the week; that there are an immense number of working men who earn in town about twenty shillings in the week, and in the country, especially in the Midlands and southern counties, some fifteen or seventeen shillings in the week, a wage which is hardly sufficient to provide them with the bare necessities of life; while beside these there is a great class—including especially the majority of women workers—which exists in constant want, which can never earn enough to get proper food, or clothes, or shelter. This is without taking account of the poverty which is brought upon people by their own vices.

How many there are in this class of the worst sweated trades we cannot say with certainty; but it is a class which must probably be numbered in millions; a class which can never provide itself with the necessities of life, which is always hungry and ill-clothed, usually physically undeveloped, suffering from frequent illness, and living short and maimed lives.

What are we as Christian people to say to this? What can we say but that these conditions are abhorrent and intolerable to us, and that they must be condemned by every Christian man and woman!

What! Are we content to live upon, perhaps to profit by, the want, the misery, the inevitable degradation of our fellow-men and women, and of the little children?

What can we say as Christian people but that the wages of the labourer must be the first charge upon any industry; that no industry is to be tolerated which is based upon the want and misery of our fellow-creatures. That is, that so far as we employ labour, we must never pay wages which are not sufficient to keep the labourer and his family in health and strength; that is, we must pay a "living wage." And further, if we are Christian people we must do our best to set forward all practicable remedies for underpayment, whether by the organization of the labourer in Trade Unions, or by means of legislation; while we should do all that we can to support those employers who are known to pay the standard wages, and to provide good conditions for the work people.

This principle of the "living" or "standard" wage, though there are some persons who do not understand it, is good political economy, for the wealth of a country is really founded upon the efficiency of its workers, that is, upon their health and strength, their industry and their intelligence. And certainly it is the only Christian principle of wages, for the workers are men and women like

ourselves; the children of one Father, made like us for a life which is truly human and truly divine; and how shall we answer for them, if we have made our profit or enjoyed our comfort at the expense of their misery and destruction?

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## THE PRESENT FACTS WITH REGARD TO LEAD-POISONING

**S**OME years ago the general conscience was deeply stirred on the subject of lead-poisoning among pottery-workers. Many people had then just learned for the first time the meaning of the word plumbism, and all that it might signify to the man or woman unfortunate enough to contract it. In some cases it would stop short at a blue line on the gums, general bad health and occasional attacks of severe colic; but in others it was found to lead to the peculiar form of paralysis of the fore-arm known as "wrist-drop"; to serious brain disturbance; to total blindness; and now and again to death. **Worst of all, it was seen that the effects of lead did not always cease with the lead-poisoned themselves, but might descend to their offspring, destroying or stunting the children born of them.**

The existence of these ills was officially demonstrated. They were discussed in the Reports of the Labour Commission and the Committee on Dangerous Trades; they formed the subject of special investigation by factory inspectors and trained medical experts. Figures followed upon facts: it was shown that out of the whole body of pottery-workers, over 6,000 were working "in the lead," and that those so employed included, not men and women only, but boys and girls. The general risk of lead-poisoning was pronounced to be peculiarly grave in the case of youthful workers. A very brief contact with the dangerous substance sometimes sufficed, in such a case, to bring about an irremediable catastrophe: examples were cited of girls in their early teens who had become stone blind as the result

of plumbism, after a few months only of work in a lead process. At the same time, age and long use were not found to confer immunity from peril. Adult "dippers" who for twenty years or more had escaped the specific disease of their occupation, would suddenly sicken of the poison which a healthy natural constitution had long enabled them to resist.

Its new knowledge distressed the public mind. It asked itself whether, seeing that there might be death in the lead-glazed tea-cup for the maker thereof, it was not, perhaps, its duty to patronize some form of ware coated with a glaze from which lead had been excluded. And for a while it seemed as though those manufacturers who had spent time and money in experimenting for a leadless glaze were about to see their enterprise rewarded.

But the Government issued special rules for the protection of pottery-workers in contact with lead ; Lord James of Hereford held his famous arbitration at Stoke-upon-Trent, and devised a scheme of compensation for the lead-poisoned ; and the national conscience was gradually soothed. Fewer cases of plumbism were reported ; and, since leadless-glazed ware was not quite so easily procurable as the old sort, the world made up its mind that henceforward all would doubtless be well in the china and earthenware trade.

It was over-sanguine in this conclusion. The special rules have done great good. Increased care on the part of employers and employed has had a beneficial effect. The compensation scheme has mitigated some of the worst hardships attaching to the lot of the lead-poisoned worker, though, since compensation in the Potteries is assessed upon a standard of wages notoriously low, the sums paid are often quite insufficient for the sufferer's maintenance. **But the old evil is not dead** ; it shows, indeed, small signs of dying. During 1906 the number of cases of

plumbism, which in 1905 had dropped to 84, leaped up suddenly to 107; of these cases four were fatal. In 1907 the cases numbered 103, with 9 deaths; in 1908 they were 117, and the deaths 12 in number. These melancholy figures bear witness to the truth that, despite the efforts of employers and inspectors, lead, even under the most favourable circumstances, is a dangerous substance to handle.

In face of such facts as these, it seems time to ask what we are doing to support the manufacture of leadless-glazed ware?

This manufacture has made notable advances in recent years. Not every kind of ware can, as yet, be finished with a leadless glaze. But, as the recent exhibition of the London Branch of the Christian Social Union showed, the range of choice in leadless-glazed china and earthenware is already very large. It includes the decorative and the useful, the costly and the cheap, in a great variety of patterns. The glaze has been applied with success to the delicate dessert-service and the humble pudding-bowl, to some of the finest work of our great modern artist-potters, and to the plain coloured tiles which cover our floors and line our fireplaces. A steady demand for the ware would encourage further experiment, and add to the number of existing patterns.

**Leadless-glazed ware is just as durable as any other.** It has stood the test of daily usage in schools and institutions admirably. It is already in use in several great Government departments, and others are preparing to adopt it. But Government action alone will not suffice in this matter. The public must do its part.

In so far as it is a Christian public, it will surely not hold back. Rather than run any risk of becoming a cause of suffering to those who work for it in things of use and beauty, it will be at the pains to buy its china and earthenware leadless-

glazed.\* But certain foreign countries, we are told, refuse to purchase any ware not glazed with lead? Very good. Let the people of those countries settle the matter with their consciences. But let us at home, at least, deliver our souls.

C. S.

\* The word "leadless-glaze" should be stamped on every piece so bought. This stamp is the only guarantee that the glaze is really leadless.

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# TRUCK

## THE LAW ON FINES AND DEDUCTIONS

READERS of Disraeli's *Sybil* will remember the state of things there portrayed, when the employer's "Tommy" shop consumed the worker's earnings, because wages were only paid in goods, which were often worthless in quality. It was to guard against this system that the Truck Act of 1831 was passed. The object of this Act was to insure that wages should not be paid to the workers except in coin of the realm, and to protect them from the obligation of spending their earnings in any particular manner or any particular shop. Carefully guarded exceptions were made, dealing with miners' tools and house accommodation; but these did not affect the object of the Act.

The abuses to which payment in kind are open are obvious. The employer may pay his people in inferior goods, or goods overcharged; or he may supply goods in excess of the wages due, and thus exercise an injurious control over his employé by forcing him to be his debtor.

Payment in kind has not entirely ceased. There is a Departmental Committee sitting to inquire into fines and deductions, and the newspapers emphasize the fact that evidence was given before it to show that the work of barefooted girls in Ireland was being paid for in button-boots, and that tea, charged at the rate



of 3s. 6d. a pound, formed part of a remuneration which was so made up that no coin passed between employer and employé. However ingeniously the law is framed, when it comes to bear the test of the decisions of the Courts, it may utterly break down; and this has been the case with the law of 1831, while the subsequent law of 1887, which aimed at stopping deductions from workers' wages for repairing tools, and every other deduction, has equally broken down. A decision upheld in the High Court decided (contrary to the intention of Parliament) that though the 1831 law enacted that the entire amount of wages earned must be paid in coin of the realm, this only applied to the net wage paid; the gross wage being subject to fines and deductions!

In 1896, Mr. Asquith made another attempt to deal with this question, by means of detailed treatment and a great deal of definition. He divided fines and deductions into three heads: "Deductions for Fines," under which came all questions of discipline, such as unpunctuality; "Deductions for damaged goods," under which came any injury to material or property of the employer; "Deductions for materials," under which came the use of tools, machines, light, or any other thing to be done or provided by the employer. Contracts had to be made with the workmen on all these subjects; all fines had to be posted in the factory; copies of the particulars in writing, showing why the fine was imposed, had to be given to the workpeople; and all fines and deductions, it was stated, must be fair and reasonable, having regard to the circumstances of the case. Moreover, an attempt

was made to include Shop Assistants, whose sufferings from deductions are notorious; but as it was forgotten to indicate who was to enforce the law in their case, this has remained a dead letter.

Under this too elaborate Act, fines and deductions are rife; fines for unpunctuality are frequent, fines for such a breach of discipline as laughing or talking in the factory, or dancing in the dinner hour, are upheld by magistrates as fair and reasonable. It has been held legal to deduct more than two pounds from the wage of a tailoress for making a mistake in the sewing of a dozen pairs of trousers, for which she was paid 6*d.* a piece. Money is deducted for steam, for needles, for cotton, for everything which the employer has to provide for work, to an extent far in excess of the amount needed for the purpose. So ambiguous is the law that the Factory Inspectors lose a great majority of the prosecutions which they attempt under it, and we can trace the falling-off in these prosecutions to the fact that they recognize their impotence under laws so worded. It is in recognition of the failure of the Truck Acts that the Departmental Committee has been formed. The evidence has been voluminous, and some of it has shown that the best employers conduct their business without fines and deductions, and that an improved state of things results. The discipline of a factory or a workshop depends not upon the extent of punishments, but upon the extent to which capable foremen and managers are employed. The successful disciplinarian holds his authority not by punishments, but by the power of managing men. This is the direction in which we

look for improvement rather than in that of reducing the already too slender wages, with the natural consequence of privation and discontent among those employed.

Quite recently a further decision of the Courts has placed a great number of home workers outside the protection of the Truck Act, such as tailoresses, shirt-makers, blouse-makers, and others, and consequently a large number of the most helpless and underpaid class, which needs redress, cannot claim it.

## OUR FUTURE POLICY

Seeing that all efforts to protect the worker by limitations and definition of the law have broken down, and that their slender earnings suffer continual deductions, it is surely our part as citizens to ask for reform drafted on broad lines, which shall abolish all fines and deductions and payments by the worker to the employer, which shall include all Out-workers and Shop Assistants in its protection. It is true now, as it was in the days of the old Law-giver, that "he that sheddeth blood and he that defraudeth the labourer of his hire are brothers."

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# THE UNEMPLOYED

BY

F. LEWIS DONALDSON, M.A.

VICAR OF S. MARK'S, LEICESTER

OF all social problems that of "the unemployed" is, by common consent, the most urgent. At the recent Trade Union Congress it was unanimously resolved that "this is the most vital and urgent question affecting the interests of the wage-workers of the United Kingdom."

## THE EVIL

The evil is not to be measured by statistics of the number of men "out-of-work." It is not merely that, even in the well-organized trades, from two to four out of every hundred workmen are unemployed at the best of times—a percentage which rises occasionally in times of bad trade to ten or twenty per cent., and among unskilled labourers to an unknown height. The gravest part of the problem is the "under-employment"—often chronic—of the whole class of casual workers, numbering probably millions of male labourers (not all unskilled), and thousands of women, especially "out-workers."

The irregularity and intermittence of casual employment have, at the best of times, demoralizing effects on family life and personal character. In seasons of depression these become ruinous. To these deteriorating influences literally millions are now exposed.

## ORIGINS OF THE EVIL

We need not here inquire to what extent these evils (and especially the practice of intermittent casual employment) have been originated or intensified by the industrial revolution of the eighteenth century, by the enormous growth of towns in the nineteenth, or by the competitive world-commerce that characterizes the twentieth. What is clear is that to-day, not only do new inventions or changes of fashion or trade occasionally deprive thousands of blameless families of their accustomed livelihood, and both cyclical and seasonal depressions recurrently throw tens of thousands out of work through no fault of their own, but, even in good times, the very system of casual employment for a day's work or a few hours' work at a time, without any organized provision for the rest of the time, makes it almost impossible for hundreds of thousands of poor households to maintain a regular, provident, and thrifty existence.

## THE CAUSES ECONOMIC NOT "PERSONAL"

These and other such considerations point to the fact that the root causes of the evil are economic, and have less to do with the "character" of the workers than with the industrial conditions which society has allowed to develop. Hence, in recent years, the change of public opinion upon the subject. A few years ago "unemployed" was a term of blame; now it is a term of pity. We

hear less than we did about "ne'er-do-wells," "loafers," and so forth. For we have learnt by intricate investigation that though character is priceless, and technical training important, yet the possession neither of good character nor of technical skill by all would wholly remove the causes of unemployment, and those of the still graver evil of irregular "under-employment" which lie in the forms of business organization which the wage-earners cannot themselves alter.

### NATIONAL RESPONSIBILITY

Besides, and partly because of these considerations, a new moral conception of corporate or national responsibility has arisen. In the light of present knowledge, it becomes impossible to throw the whole weight of responsibility upon the workless themselves.

Men who, for instance, in middle life, are cast out of their employment by a change of commercial process or some other industrial cause, are under present economic conditions, practically helpless. Too old, unsuited to learn a new trade, they rapidly drift into a condition of vague and hopeless wandering. Those who can obtain no better means of livelihood than the demoralizing casual labour of the docks and wharves, or of the "sweated" home-working trades, cannot, by any possibility, make these occupations into sources of regular weekly incomes, or avoid being reduced to starvation level whenever trade is bad.

We have learnt, in fact, that the main causes of unemployment being economic, "charity" is wholly inadequate as a solution, and that the "Poor Law" is not only no remedy but harsh and even cruel, because it inflicts the stigma of pauperism upon those who are compelled by want of regular employment to seek its aid.

We must therefore look for remedy in the direction of a better ordering of industrial conditions, and to national co-operation to this end.

### THE "UNEMPLOYED" AND THE "UNEMPLOYABLE."

The first step towards real remedy lies in drawing clearly the distinction between "unemployed" and "unemployable." But it should be noted that there is a quite inevitable tendency for the one to become the other. The "unemployed" of one year may be the "unemployable" of the next. When a workman becomes workless, and for months, or even years, is left to himself, and to wander hither and thither for work he cannot find, he rapidly degenerates. First, his trade position is broken, then his home, and then his heart. This is the fate of thousands now designated "unemployable," who once were skilled and honourable workmen.

### PHYSICALLY AND MENTALLY DEFECTIVE

But beyond there are the aged, the physically weak, the halt, the maimed, the blind, the deaf and dumb, and the epileptics, consumptives, and inebriates. Finally, there is the comparatively small class of those who might work but will not.

All these classes need, and should receive, separate treatments. The State (i.e., we ourselves, in our corporate capacity) should save these, the industrially "lost." Even those reluctant to work should



be saved "so as by fire," and set to work in colonies of a penal but reformatory kind, of which we have a good example in that of Merxplas, in Belgium. The problem of whether provision for old age, upon a large scale, should be made from national resources, must be faced. For the physically and mentally incompetent houses of consolation and redemption should be established.

### POSITIVE REMEDIES

A short leaflet can give few details. But it is clear that when the classes named above have been eliminated, the problem of "unemployment" will be shorn of half its horror. We shall then have to deal with the industrial problem only, great in extent, terrible in its results, and ever expanding, but confined to its legitimate dimensions and character.

The unemployed, whose condition constitutes this problem, may be divided into (a) those who, at the best of times, are only intermittently employed—e.g., dock and wharf labourers, out-workers in sweated trades, etc.; (b) those workless through seasonal causes—e.g., house painters and stone-masons in winter; (c) those workless through temporary depression of trade; and (d) those workless through changes in the methods or the localities or the products of industry.

The first and principal step must be to substitute organization for anarchy in industry, where that anarchy is demonstrably injuring the weaker among us. Would it not be possible to expand the Labour Exchanges which have been tentatively established under the Unemployed Workmen's Act, 1905, into a complete national system, under the Board of Trade; in which all labourers not in regular employment of a continuous character should register themselves, with the object of so dovetailing the jobs offered as to make employment continuous for each worker, though still given only intermittently by each employer—as is now done, for instance, to a great extent, in the case of trained nurses for the sick? Would it not be possible, by legislation, to **compel** those employers who could not, or did not, choose to guarantee a minimum period of regular employment to their wage-earners, and who wished to continue taking on men for the day or by the hour, **to hire those men through the Labour Exchange only**, so as to enable the demoralizing systems to be made as little demoralizing as possible? There would then be only a residuum, waxing and waning according to the industrial circumstances of each locality, for whom no employment at all could be found.

The second step must be to equalize, as far as may be practicable, the present varying aggregate volume of demand for labour. We cannot control the vicissitudes of seasons, weather, changes of fashion, alteration of industrial processes, the vagaries of fashion, or the consumers' caprices. It may be difficult indefinitely to extend the sort of intelligently deliberate adjustment of production to demand such as distinguishes the highly organized co-operative movement. But something effective could probably be done by concentrating the Government and municipal orders for new workshops, new buildings, painting and renovating existing structures, non-urgent printing, and even the annual embodiment of militia regiments for training, upon

those seasons of the year, and those years in the numerical cycles, in which the aggregate volume of demand for labour is lowest.

The third step must be for the community, as a whole, to deal wisely, humanely, and without dishonour, in each case according to its needs, with the ultimate residuum, numerically great or small, individually blameless or culpable, fit or "unemployable," that it finds upon its hands. For the able-bodied adults who find themselves workless there should be provided, not artificially created work at wages, but temporary subsistence in return for training (physical, mental, and technological) in order to fit them, according to their circumstances, (a) for more efficient work in their old trades, if these are only temporarily depressed, (b) to take up new trades, (c) to migrate to other parts of the United Kingdom, where their labour is wanted, or (d) to emigrate, if they so desire, to new lands.

For all this, the inevitable discipline and systematic regimen of residential farm colonies, and day or residential industrial or technical schools, should afford the necessary machinery for providing means of subsistence for the husband and father (with home aliment for the family) in such a way as to check "industrial malingering," and invigorate instead of, like the workhouse, demoralizing the patient.

For any who may prove recalcitrant, or incurably idle, we must try the more drastic cure of a reformatory penal settlement.

### CONCLUSION

There is no doubt that these are real, though partial, remedies for unemployment. But it is clear, also to the present writer (though he cannot commit the Christian Social Union to this view,) that this tragedy being an invariable concomitant of the competitive system of industry, there can be no permanent remedy except in the substitution of the co-operative for the competitive principle in the constitution of the industrial life of the nation.

### THE RELIGIOUS PRINCIPLE

Further, in all these considerations we must keep in mind the stern tragedy involved. In a highly organized state of society to be "unemployed" is to be outcast and lost. It means the degradation of human lives, the destruction of homes, and the breaking of human hearts. The Church's promulgation of the commandment, "Six days shalt thou labour," implies our responsibility for those who seek to fulfil the sacred law, but who, under the present conditions of industrial life, cannot. The appeal of the workless is not merely for the right to live. It is a nobler cry—for the right to work in order that they may live, and in order that they may be a help and not a burden to society. In the parable of the labourers in the vineyard—a parable of the unemployed—the lord goes forth even unto the eleventh hour to give work to those who seek it. In this parable is presented an image of that duty which is now before both Church and Nation.

# THE WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION ACT OF 1906

(BY THE LONDON C.S.U. RESEARCH COMMITTEE)

THIS Act marks no new departure in legislation. The Workmen's Compensation Acts of 1897 and 1900 established the principle of Employers' Liability, as regards accidents to workers arising out of and in the course of employment" in respect of a large number of occupations. The Workmen's Compensation Act of 1906 enlarges the application of this principle (which modern theories of social responsibility recognize as equitable), to the advantage of some large and important classes of workers hitherto excluded from the benefits of the former Act. Extension of these benefits to sufferers from a certain limited number of diseases of occupation does not, as at first sight it might appear to do, constitute a "new departure" in any strict sense. Anthrax has already been defined in the High Court of Justice as an accident; and it would be difficult to state any logical ground for a claim to compensation on the part of the wool-comber, who has contracted anthrax in the course of preparing fleeces, which is not equally applicable to the case of the potter who becomes poisoned by inhaling lead dust, or the shuttle-maker who succumbs to the effect of African box-wood. Twenty-four diseases are scheduled under this section of the Act. This number is by no means co-extensive with the whole range of diseases of occupation; and there are certain omissions in the Schedule (of these "potters' rot" is one of the most notable) which call for consideration and remedy.

## I. PERSONS TO WHOM THE ACT APPLIES

Under this head come all those persons included in the old Acts, with the following additions: Seamen, Fishermen, Postmen, Workers in workshops, Shop Assistants, Domestic Servants, Persons engaged in non-manual work—such as Teachers, Clerks, Secretaries—whose incomes do not amount to more than £250 a year.

It must be clearly understood that all these persons are only entitled to claim compensation in respect of *accidents*; the right to claim in respect of diseases "arising out of and in the course of employment" being strictly confined to the classes of industrial workers included in the Schedule already alluded to.

Outside the Act are: 1. Persons casually employed on some job which is not part of the employer's trade or business: for example, a window-cleaner working on his own account, and not under con-

tract of regular attendance to the householder whose windows he cleans. 2. Soldiers and sailors in the service of the Crown. 3. Policemen. 4. Out-workers.

## II. (a) ACCIDENTS TO WHICH THE ACT APPLIES

Not every accident occurring to the above-mentioned persons carries with it a claim to compensation. For such claim to hold good, three conditions must be fulfilled:

1. The incapacity caused by the accident must last more than a week.

2. It must arise out of and in the course of employment, and

3. Unless the accident result in death or serious and permanent disablement, it must not be caused by serious or wilful misconduct on the part of the injured person. But if death or permanent disablement ensue, then, even if serious or wilful misconduct be proved, a claim for compensation will continue to lie.

In connection with the second and third condition, there have been in the past, and probably will be in the future, many disputes at law. It is frequently difficult to draw the line between mere carelessness or self-forgetfulness, and serious and wilful misconduct. Still more difficult is it to determine whether an accident has or has not arisen out of employment. Where, however, it can be clearly proved that the accident occurred because the injured worker left his work to amuse himself, or was, at the time of its occurrence, doing something other than that which he was employed to do, he is liable to lose his claim to compensation.

## (b) DISEASES TO WHICH THE ACT APPLIES

The following is a list of these diseases:—

Anthrax; Lead-, Mercury-, Phosphorus-, and Arsenic-poisoning; poisoning by carbon bisulphide, nitrous fumes, nickel carbonyl, nitro-benzine, and African box-wood; chimney-sweeps' cancer; glanders; disease caused by handling of pitch or tar; compressed air illness, and six forms of disease peculiar to miners.

## III. AMOUNT OF COMPENSATION PAYABLE

In the case of death from an accident a sum equal to the earnings during the preceding three years (or 156 times the weekly wages, if the worker has not been so long in his last employment) is payable to total dependents. This sum must not exceed £300, nor fall below £150. Relatives only partially dependent on the deceased receive a smaller sum, to be fixed by agreement, by the County Court Judge, or the Arbitrator under the Act, according to circumstances.

In a case of complete incapacity, the payment will usually amount to half the wages (but in no case is it to exceed £1 per week) till the worker can return to work. If the incapacity lasts less than a fortnight, no compensation is payable for the first week. A child or young worker earning less than 10s. a week may, how-



ever, be awarded full wages as compensation, so long as these do not exceed 10s. per week. (The reason for this provision is obvious: half the wages earned by boys and girls would not, in the majority of cases, be sufficient to afford anything like maintenance). Provision is also made for reassessment of compensation to a young worker who has been permanently injured, if he or she lives to come of age, on the basis of his or her probable earnings at that age had no accident occurred.

After six months the weekly payments may be commuted by the employer for a lump sum. There is no corresponding right to claim such commutation on the worker's side.

#### IV. NOTICE OF ACCIDENT AND CLAIM

The obligations to send in written notice of an accident to the employer, and to make formal claim for compensation within six months of its occurrence apply under the new as under the old Act.

#### V. COMPENSATION TO DOMESTIC SERVANTS

A good deal of uncertainty appears to prevail as to the exact extent of an employer's liability for compensation where household servants are concerned.

It is well, therefore, to keep certain points clearly in mind.

1. The legal liability is for accidents only. It does not extend to disease or to temporary illness.

2. An accident incurred by the servant when not engaged in the employer's business—for instance, on her weekly evening out—confers no claim for compensation. If, however, the servant meets with injury in the course of carrying a message for her employer, then, unless serious and wilful misconduct is proved against her, she can claim compensation.

3. Serious and wilful misconduct bars compensation in the case of a domestic servant, as in that of a workman or workwoman industrially employed.

Compensation in the case of a servant is calculated on the basis of the total earnings—i.e., not cash wages only, but board and lodging are taken into account in assessing compensation.

Householders who have been accustomed to treat their servants with justice and consideration, and to care for them as a matter of course in times of sickness or incapacity from accident, may be inclined to resent the legal liability which this Act imposes upon them. But they should remember that justice and consideration are not virtues universally practised, and that many small employers of one servant are not in a position to provide for that servant if she suffers a permanent injury in their service. The obligation of insurance to which legal liability points, will, if fulfilled, secure both servant and employer in such a case. Pending the creation of a system of compulsory State insurance it is the duty of all conscientious and sensible people to avail themselves of the facilities offered by



existing insurance offices for insuring their servants under this Act. The expense of such insurance is not great, the standard rates of premium standing at 2s. 6d. for indoor servants, 5s. for gardeners, and 7s. 6d. for coachmen, stablemen, and grooms.

In insuring employers should be careful—

1. To select a thoroughly well-established office, fit to meet the claims that may fall heavily upon it twenty years hence.

2. To insure each servant by calling, and not by name. The insurance of "one cook" covers any number of successive holders of that office. Policies for households should be so drawn as to include any additions to the household that may subsequently be made, on payment of the requisite additional premium.

3. To choose a policy which permits the householder, by payment of an additional 25 per cent. on his premium, to insure all the casual labour—charwoman, gardener by the day, etc.—he may at any time employ. In connection with this kind of labour, it is to be noted that, where the employment is regular, as in the case of the charwoman who comes once or twice a week, the employer is liable. Where, as in that of the independent window-cleaner already cited, it is strictly casual, there is no liability. Of course, if the window-cleaner is sent out by an employer (whether an individual employer, a firm, or a company), then a claim for compensation will lie; but it will lie against the man's regular employer, and not against the householder for whom he happens to be working.

4. Many Insurance Companies are inserting an arbitration clause in their policies. When insurance is confined to strictly legal liability, the clause appears superfluous—the Insurance Company, since it assumes the whole liability of the employer for compensation, being bound to pay the legal assessment in full. But where employers see fit to take advantage of the "extended benefits" policy at a higher rate of premium (these "extended benefits" cover all accidents, whether arising out of employment or not, and illness as well) the clause may be found useful.

#### CONCLUDING REMARKS

The Act is not perfect. In the matter of diseases of occupation it has dealt grudgingly with the worker. By excluding out-workers from its scope, it has placed a premium upon the continuance and increase of a form of labour peculiarly open to abuse. But it carries us a step nearer to the realization of a higher social ideal; it gives a legal aspect to the Christian principle that Society is responsible as a whole for its members.

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# THE REFORM OF THE POOR LAW    =    =    =    =

BY THE REV.        =        =  
PERCY DEARMER, M.A.

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*Price One Penny*

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# The Christian Social Union

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**T**HIS Union consists of Members of the Church of England who have the following objects at heart :—

1. To claim for the Christian law the ultimate authority to rule social practice.
2. To study in common how to apply the moral truths and principles of Christianity to the social and economic difficulties of the present time.
3. To present Christ in practical life as the living Master and King, the enemy of wrong and selfishness, the power of righteousness and love.

# THE REFORM OF THE POOR LAW

BY THE

REV. PERCY DEARMER, M.A.,

*Secretary of the London Branch of the Christian Social Union, and  
Vicar of S. Mary's, Primrose Hill.*

EVERY student of the problem of poverty knows that our present Poor Law system is not good, that it is both too cruel and too kind—that under it a vast amount of preventable misery exists, that it manufactures great armies of paupers for the next generation—while at the same time it gives us little power for dealing effectively with the impostor, the criminal, the incompetent, and the ne'er-do-well.

This is not to be wondered at. Indeed, the wonder is that the Poor Law still works at all. **It is seventy-four years old**, for it came into existence in 1834, three years before Dickens wrote *Oliver Twist*. It was indeed at that time itself a great reform of the intolerable iniquities of the older Poor Law, which, by the beginning of the nineteenth century, had reduced the English farm labourer to the lowest point he had reached perhaps since the Stone Age. Yet in 1834 social science as we know it was in its infancy; and in the years that have followed, **England and the world have changed** with a rapidity unparalleled in the history of the human race. The whole structure of society is different, and the ideas that govern society are different,—for one thing, natural science now teaches the solidarity of the race, a fact which was then only taught by Christianity, and was therefore not acted upon. Great principles of corporate responsibility are now accepted: it is realized that in neglecting the individual, society is inflicting self-damage, and that wise forethought in relieving the individual is necessary to the protection of the community. Thus, only last year Parliament made it the duty of the Education Authority to provide medical examination of all our seven millions of children, without any suggestion of pauperism, and merely for the protection of society as a whole. The antithesis between man and the State is becoming unthinkable, because we have discovered that with-

out corporate action the majority of men cannot realize their manhood. We have become more social because we care more for individuality.

But in 1834 there was (1) **no Education Authority** at all: The Church had indeed established elementary schools, but the State had not, and there was no law or system by which every child should have this fundamental opportunity of developing his individuality. And in 1834 there was (2) **no Health Authority** and no sanitary inspection; there was also no public provision for the defective and the idiot, and none, except in one or two counties, for lunatics. Nor was there, it need hardly be said, in 1834, any notion of (3) a **National Old Age Pension** scheme. Ruskin wrote *Unto this Last* in 1860. Lastly, there was in 1834 on the one hand (4) **no organized Police Force**, outside London, that could deal with the vagrant and the impostor (nor indeed any national prison system at all); and on the other hand there were **no Distress Committees** for helping the unemployed or training the unemployable.

Here are four great divisions of public service, necessities now of civilization, and then undreamt of. What could the Poor Law Commission of 1834 do? They were compelled to advocate the creation of a new Authority to deal with all the classes for which public provision was necessary: all these had this in common—they needed public help. So for all cases of ‘destitution,’ as it was called, a single Authority was made—the Poor Law of 1834. That is why, at the present day, the Guardians of the Poor have to ride four horses at once; they have to be a rough and ready Educational, Health, and Pension Authority for a certain class, and also have to deal with the able-bodied of this class—the destitute—though indeed the Local Government Board in 1886 withdrew the unemployed from the Poor Law. The Commission of 1834 tried to guard against this jumbling together of quite different classes: they asked for the separate treatment of the Children, the Aged, the Sick, and the Able-bodied. But the effect of having one common Poor Law Authority has been too strong. It has saddled us for seventy years with that horribly demoralizing institution, the mixed general Workhouse.

Meanwhile great national services have grown up which are untouched with any stigma of pauperism—the Education Authority, the Public Health Authority, the Distress Committees, and the Police and Reformatory Authorities; while Old Age Pensions are on their way. And the expenditure of these



newer national services, which bear no taint of pauperism, is already far greater than that of the Poor Law.

What wonder that the Poor Law system has broken down?

### THE PRESENT OPPORTUNITY.

**A Royal Commission on the Poor Law is now once again sitting.** Vast quantities of evidence have already been laid before it, and behind it lies the support of a growing body of experts who are convinced that the time has come for a great step forward. This Government, or the next (probably the next) will have to legislate on whatever advice the Royal Commission will have then given.

We are on the eve of changes—which may be great and beneficent changes, if there is only a sufficiently powerful body of enlightened public opinion. Will there be enough knowledge, courage, and Christianity to redeem that vast mass of pauperism which is so conspicuous a blot on the fair fame of Christendom?

It depends largely upon ourselves, and very largely on the clergy and active laity who have, from the beginning, laboured among the very poor, and who know what the conditions are. It is no exaggeration to say that in this matter the Church is all-powerful; if she asks for anything with a strong and united voice, her influence on the Commission, on public opinion, and on the Government of two or three years hence will be profound. People say that the Church is never aroused save when her own endowments or possessions are threatened. Here is at least an opportunity for disproving that charge. Here is a cause which is peculiarly her own, and an immense opportunity for removing a huge mass of misery, the existence of which is a far stronger argument against Christianity than any which Haeckel or Blatchford have devised.

There has been an enormous increase of wealth during the last thirty years, and yet the mass of pauperism has shown no signs of diminishing; **the number of persons in receipt of poor-law relief in the United Kingdom is approximately 1,000,000.** In Japan, with a larger population, only 29,000 persons are said to be in this condition. Here is the problem in a nutshell. It could not well be more serious. If we could see this million of human beings pass by us in a grim, interminable procession, and behind it that yet other army of poor creatures who are not in receipt of official relief, we should not be able to

rest till something had been done. And the economist at our elbow would remind us that these shabby multitudes do yet represent a great treasure of gold; they cost the State large sums of money, and the Church supplements that with a great deal more. Yet the number is never lessened; and, worst of all, there is no doubt that a large proportion of them, so far from being benefited, are injured in health, and demoralized in character, by what is done for them. Furthermore, Churchmen have now come to see that the very fact of the clergy having to distribute poor relief is a prime cause in keeping working men as a class away from church: they are laughed at by their friends if they are seen going to a place of worship, and are asked, "What are you getting for it?" Thus the present system, administered with so much labour, and at so great cost, and supplemented by so much devotion and sacrifice among Churchfolk, has the gravest results upon health, upon character, and upon the Church itself.

## I

### THE CHILDREN

And under this system the future gives little cause for hope. For we are breeding paupers at a considerable rate. **Of the million persons relieved, there are in England and Wales alone, about 250,000 children under sixteen.** The general public has an idea that this great company is being properly trained in health, discipline, and efficiency, if not in religion. But what are the facts? Only 9,000 are "boarded out," only another 12,000 are in philanthropic "certified schools," and about 15,000 either in the new and very expensive "cottage homes" or in the admirable "scattered homes."

Thus there are 36,000 who may be regarded as reasonably well provided for. But what of the remaining 214,000? Of these about 12,000 are in the so-called "barrack-schools" of the Poor Law. Then there are about 22,000 who are actually living in workhouses. There still remain no fewer than 180,000 to be accounted for. How are these being brought up. **They are living in the worst slums and in the worst homes, and are maintained on a pittance of outdoor relief (usually 1s. or 1s. 6d. per week) given to their mothers or other guardians.** All the investigations into their condition show that in a large proportion of cases these children are growing up half-fed, uncontrolled, and morally neglected. **They are, in fact, a prolific**

**seed-plot for the pauperism of the future.** As Charles Dickens showed the nation that the judicial and prison system of his day was a factory of criminals, so does the sociologist of our time tell us that our poor-law system—at any rate, in its present treatment of Outdoor Relief children—is a factory of paupers.

Now the great requirement of any poor-law system is that it shall be the means of lifting people, and especially young people, out of pauperism, and preventing the decent poor from falling into it. Sickness, temporary unemployment, and a degraded upbringing, ought not to be allowed to swell the ranks of incapable misery. Among those who are already hopelessly poor, the deserving ought to be treated with mercy and tenderness, the weak in health, or mind, or will, ought to be cared for in institutions, the able-bodied ne'er-do-wells ought to be sent to reformatories or prisons. The peripatetic impostor, with whom the clergy are so painfully familiar, would not exist in a wisely ordered society. For every class of man, woman, or child, there would be a responsible agency; and the aim of all would be curative and preventive. Then at last the aged and the sick would be preserved in self-respect and be given such comfort and kindness as our forefathers attempted in many a graceful almshouse of the past.

How then will a reformed Poor Law deal with the children of the destitute? There can be but one answer. One simple and thorough reform the logic of facts will bring upon us. **The children must be rescued from the degrading associations of pauperism and dealt with entirely by the Local Education Authority,** under the inspection of the Board of Education.

## II

### THE SICK

The next battalion of the pauper million consists of persons who are incapacitated by sickness. Their exact number is not given in the official statistics, but it is computed by experts as something **over 200,000**, not counting the 100,000 persons of unsound mind. How are they provided for? Just as the children are treated in a strange variety of ways, so the sick suffer enormously from the chance vagaries of our present system. A fortunate minority of about 40,000 are in the Poor Law infirmaries, which are little inferior to a good public hospital. But a larger number (computed at 60,000) are in the

mixed workhouse, with insufficient medical attendance, and generally with pauper nursing.

The remaining 100,000 have to get well, or lie as best they can in their own homes (which in this class naturally are, as a rule, insanitary and overcrowded), with the aid of an occasional visit from the overworked parish doctor; and without proper nursing, unless they are fortunate enough to live in a district where private charity supplies extra nurses. Such fortunate parishes are only about one in five; and it must be remembered that even in these places such nurses are not provided for the sick under the Poor Law, but for the equally large class of sick folk who are not technically destitute. In other words, private charity does not supply the need; and in 1910, when the new Midwife Law comes into force, there will be a terrible shortage of our already overworked nurses.

**No provision is made by the Poor Law for searching out incipient disease, none for early diagnosis; there is no connexion between domiciliary and institutional treatment, and no provision for convalescence.** We treat, in fact, the sick poor in a way we should never consent to endure for ourselves. I need hardly point out that the whole nation suffers for this selfishness, and pays a heavy tribute every year.

Here, again, the remedy is not difficult to see, and none are more anxious for it than the Medical Officers themselves. The Guardians do much devoted and patient work, but they are not medical specialists; and even if they were, they would not be able to do more than the present law allows. **The care of all the sick, then, should be placed in the hands of the Local Sanitary Authority.** We have now all over England an organized public service under the Public Health Acts; the poor must no longer be excluded (when suffering from non-infectious diseases), from the care of that service and the doctors and nurses must be given adequate means for doing their great work among the sick and needy.

### III

#### THE AGED

The third great battalion of the pauper army consists of the *Aged*, who—counting all paupers over 60 years (which is unfortunately an old age for the working man)—number **350,000, or over a third of the whole million.** A hundred thousand of these are in the workhouses, and 250,000 are in receipt of out-



door relief. There is no national principle by which this is done; the utmost diversity reigns in this as in the other departments. Many good people are opposed to outdoor relief; yet in practice there is often no alternative. Some Unions give outdoor relief almost as a matter of course; some practically force the aged to enter the workhouse; some fall between the two evils by giving an entirely inadequate dole; a few, but only a few, provide comfortable quarters for those aged persons who are well-conducted. **No Christianly-minded person could maintain that we have reason to be satisfied with our national treatment of the aged poor.**

Well, this problem, which hangs like a nightmare about our heads, will probably have been simplified before the next Government brings in the Bill for reconstituting the Poor Law. For the present Government has promised an **Old Age Pensions Bill**, and (what is, perhaps, more to the point) has begun to lay aside money for the purpose. That battalion, then, of 350,000 will be considerably reduced before Parliament is asked to tackle the whole Poor Law question. There will remain a considerable number who will not be able to live on their pensions; of these the infirm and senile could well be cared for in **asylums** under the Public Health Authority, while for the rest we could not do better than fall back upon **almshouses**. Such almshouses would be, as they were in times past, the principal way in which pious persons could contribute to the succour of the poor. By private almsgiving these havens of rest could be multiplied till they were adequate for the comparatively small number not provided for under the great national systems; they would be varied in character according to local needs and ideas, they could be full of comfort, honour, and beauty, and each a witness and an influence for good; for in this at least we have a Christian tradition.

**Thus it is possible to remove the present cumbrous and inefficient machinery for dealing with the three main battalions of the pauper army—the children, the sick, and the aged—without creating any new Authority or devising any untried machinery that might be worse than the old.** Granted that the promised old age pension measure becomes law, the rest is extraordinarily broad and simple. So simple is it, and so practicable to throw the care of the children and the sick on the existing education and sanitary authorities, that we may doubt whether any other scheme will in the end be seriously put forward when the experts and the statesmen come



to deal with the Poor Law system ; and it is pretty clear that reform must ultimately be on these lines.

No doubt this will involve the disappearance of the Boards of Guardians ; but public opinion is at least ready for that—and more ready than ever since the recent scandals which showed what is possible to dishonest men in administering the present Poor Law. It is pretty well understood that the Poor Law will be broken up in some way, and that the Guardians will go, whatever else may happen.

This does not, of course, mean that the devoted people who are found on Boards of Guardians will have no further occupation. No scheme that threw away such people, or that sacrificed the highly-trained workers of the Charity Organization Society, would be wise or successful. But there are a great many jobbers of the old vestrydom type who still serve as Guardians ; and their occupation would be gone. For the genuine workers there would not be less need, but more ; because the work of discrimination would be more thorough, and the succour of the innocent more complete.

## IV

### THE ABLE-BODIED

For we shall have still to tackle the most difficult class—the few tens of thousands of able-bodied men and of women needing relief apart from their children. It should be noted that this class, though exceedingly troublesome, is comparatively small. The clergy and Churchworkers see so much of it, and are so worried by the hopeless difficulty of it, that we are apt to forget its smallness ; and the Poor Law authorities have been prevented by this very fact from concentrating upon it—even if they had the powers, which they have not—because they are overwhelmed by the vast numbers of the children, the sick, and the aged. Now when those three great divisions are put under the proper authorities, the nation will be able to concentrate its shrewdest and strongest workers upon the able-bodied. What a profound relief for Churchworkers that will be, when we can refer the unemployed, and the tramp, and the beggar to an organization that can really deal with them !

Hitherto the State has offered such (jumbling good and bad together) the workhouse, the casual ward, and the stone-yard—

agencies that leave the able-bodied pauper worse than they found him. He, for his part, prefers, as a rule, conversations on the doorsteps of soft-hearted, kind, weak clergymen—and the streets and the doss-house; while behind it all the spectre of starvation yearly slays its quatum of poor folk who are not sturdy beggars. Christian England might do better than this.

**Let us come first to the Unemployed, a class which it is most urgent to succour, because, if unhelpt, it sinks into permanent pauperism.** Here the inevitable step has already been made, because Parliament has had to deal with it; and the logic of facts forced the last Government (as it will force the next in the case of the children and the sick) to *take the unemployed out of the Poor Law*, and to establish Distress Committees under the Act of 1905. The next step will be to make these Committees into permanent local authorities. They will make use of the energies at present half wasted in Boards of Guardians; and they will not be paralysed by having the pauper million in their care: they will specialize on the able-bodied poor, including the unemployed. And their main business will be not to relieve distress (though, of course, it must be temporarily relieved) but to cure it. They will, then, investigate and discriminate between good and bad; it may be found necessary to provide reformatory treatment for the bad in penal colonies or settlements, and the cases which require this would probably be handed over to the National authority which already controls the prisons; there would also certainly be a proportion of professional impostors and criminals who would be at once dealt with by the law, as soon as there was an adequate system of discovering and securing them. But many of the so-called able-bodied are neither criminal, on the one hand, nor normally employable on the other; they are simply not up to the mark—probably through our fault rather than their own. These would be put under curative treatment in farm colonies, day industrial schools, and such places, where there would be every inducement to learn and labour truly to get their own living, and every deterrent against idleness.

The genuine able-bodied, the unemployed who are not unemployable, would be dealt with partly by labour exchanges, partly by migration, and partly by emigration. For this we shall probably have to look to the German system; and it is hardly necessary to say that Germany has for long been dealing with the unemployed on modern and effective lines.

There would have to be in each locality a Receiving-house

where every applicant without exception would be admitted, and where beggars and vagrants would be sent; the conditions would be, first that each person would be kept only for a short time, and secondly that each would have to come up before the new officer set apart for this purpose, whom we will call "**the Justice of the Poor.**" In this receiving-house the unemployed would be properly lodged, and the "father" of the house would (as in Germany) find out by telephone where work is most likely to be obtained, and thus forward the workman to the next house in the right direction. But tramps, idiots, and foundling children would all be lodged in properly isolated and equipped parts of the receiving-house. The sick would, of course, require the immediate visit and care of the public health doctor. The gentleman who demanded money wherewith to bury his mother would be sent there by the parson on whose doorstep he had unfolded his piteous tale; and the authorities of the house would telegraph to the mother and inquire as to the state of her health. Urgent genuine cases would be put in the train with a safe-guarded order upon the railway company for their fare, but in no circumstances would they be returned to the road. Many of the existing workhouses could be turned into receiving-houses, managed on sensible and efficient lines such as these.

Over all, in each locality would be set the new "Justice of the Poor," a salaried magistrate, expert in poverty questions, and working probably under the County Council. He would oversee the granting of all such out-door relief as might still be needed, he would be the chief under whom the "father" of the house worked, and he would hold his court every week, or every day, as the case might be, to adjudicate upon all cases that had been received. The local Charity Organization Committees might be given a higher official sanction as part of the national scheme, and they would have plenty of work to do in the detection of impostors, and organization of charitable agencies. Probably, there would also be needed a staff of paid inquiry agents to investigate cases. The Justice would hear the evidence, and hand over each person to the Education Authority (if a child), to the Health Authority (if sick or infirm in mind or body), to the promised care of some private almshouse or other charity (if a suitable case), or to the proper curative institution provided for the able-bodied, or sometimes straight to the policeman.

Thus, omitting the details, of which there is material for

many pamphlets, and dwelling only on the main points, we are able to see how the problem of poverty can be dealt with—the problem which has lain so long and so terribly upon us that we had almost come to look upon it as insoluble. But many trained minds have been bent upon it in recent years, and we can now see a welcome light at last. I have endeavoured to point out the main conclusions which have been reached by some of our highest authorities, who have the knowledge to understand the present and the imagination to shape the future. The urgent thing now is that Churchmen as a whole should grasp these main principles, and should press for their application—pressing with all the strength of those who know that they will not press in vain. We Churchmen have a position of peculiar strength in this great matter; and if we work hard to educate public opinion this year and next, we shall be amply rewarded.

Yet there is danger lest we should be so tied up by old habits as to be incapable of grasping new principles and new methods. We all know that the old will not do; but it is the infirmity of human nature to cling to old habits, however bad, and to shrink from new ways. Bumble is scarcely dead, and officialism never dies; and there will be plenty of influence exerted to keep things more or less as they are, unless the Church makes it clear that our present way of dealing with Christ's poor does not satisfy the Christian conscience.

#### NOTE.

At the annual Council of the Christian Social Union, in Northampton, on November 26th, 1907, the following resolution was unanimously passed by the delegates of the C.S.U. Branches:—

#### THE UNEMPLOYED.

“That, in the opinion of this Council, the grave problem of unemployment can only be dealt with by the fundamental reorganization of industrial conditions; but that meanwhile the following are necessary steps in dealing with the problem—the provision, by or through public authority, of Labour Colonies of different grades; reformatory provision for persistent beggars and tramps; the development of a national system of Labour Exchanges to organize the supply of labour on a basis of standard rate and conditions.”

#### THE REFORM OF THE POOR LAW.

“In his presidential address at the evening meeting, the Bishop of Birmingham drew special attention to the Poor Law. The leaders of all

parties were, he said, agreed that our present Poor Law needed to be entirely remodelled. There was a solid million of our population in receipt of poor relief; and there was nothing as to which Christians had a clearer example from their Master than this. Of the poor no less than 250,000 were children, as to whom they had the special warning, "Take heed that ye despise not one of these little ones." Biologists were now coming to agree that acquired tendencies were not inherited; therefore, the child of a pauper did not inherit the tendency to pauperism, but his future depended upon his surroundings and his education. It was thus clear to us now that such children need not be brought up to follow in the steps of their parents, as the majority of them were. They could be saved, and the nation could be saved, from this evil, if the Poor Law were so altered that these 250,000 children were separated entirely in their childhood from the surroundings of pauperism. This was the first great reform needed. The second was that medical relief must also be taken out of this domain of pauperism, and put under the health authority. For the rest, the aged and infirm, another and better treatment must be found than that at present provided in the workhouse."—*The Times*, November 27th, 1907.





Any one wishing to join the C.S.U. is asked to communicate with the Hon. Sec., the Rev. J. Carter, Pusey House, Oxford, or the Sec. of the Local Branch, if there be one.

Christian Social Union Publications can be obtained from the Hon. Sec., C.S.U., Literature Committee, 102 Adelaide Road, London, N.W., at the following rates: Pamphlets, 1d. each, or 9d. a dozen. Leaflets, 3 a 1d.; 2s. per 100; 12s. per 1,000 (postage not included).

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# The Factory Laws relating to Women

BY

GERTRUDE M. TUCKWELL,

HON. SEC. INDUSTRIAL LAW COMMITTEE

**"I T is from bed to work and work to bed, and no time even to be ill,"** was the situation as it was summed up by a working woman the other day; and it is because so great a part of the life of the people is spent in work, that one of the main interests of the public should be to guard as far as possible the conditions under which such work is carried on. Now, correspondence and talk with those who are in touch with working life, testify to the need for a wider point of view in our work. We cannot be content to spend our energy and ourselves on giving service which helps only the individual and not also the mass. *The help we give must help all.*

This condition is fulfilled by the enforcement of our **industrial laws** which were created for the defence of the workers, and which are their charter and the affirmation of their rights as citizens. The **legislation** which protects the worker in factory or workshop, which begins to regulate labour in the home, which deals with public health, and which touches wages and imposes on the employer the responsibility of compensation to the worker for suffering incurred in his employment, thus forms the staple of our **industrial laws**.

There is among workers a growing knowledge that the State has given them rights, and that they may claim its protection in their work; and the spread of this knowledge is shown in the **"complaints" which come to our office**, and which are made in growing numbers.

I will for convenience divide these **complaints** that come to us from Factory and Workshop as we divide them in our office register, and take first the complaints as to absence of proper provisions for safety.

(1) Under this first head comes *danger from fire*. We hear of places in which work is carried on in locked rooms, of Factories where there are no exits or escapes in case of fire, of others where the only possible exits are blocked up.

(2) Complaints as to *dangerous machinery* range over a very large compass. Some of the worst cases are those of loss of life through such machinery. Oftener the complaints are of minor suffering; fingers drawn into a calendering machine, or caught in the machinery of an envelope or fruit-preserving factory; eyes or faces damaged by the flying of glass in aerated water factories. But by far the greater proportion of such accidents in London and its neighbourhood come to us from the laundries, for this trade, growing rapidly as a factory industry, is carried on often by employers ignorant of machinery dangers.

(3) The sufferings which come from *improperly ventilated*, overheated rooms are as great, though more insidious, than those from dangerous machinery. The sickly anæmic look which characterizes so many of our work girls is developed by the conditions of their work, and the complaints which come to us on this subject are very numerous. There is, for instance, the dressmaker's workroom, which in the height of summer has all its windows closed for fear dust or smuts should touch the delicate fabrics on which the girls work; there is the room which in the depth of winter is warmed only by the gas jets and the girls' breath and the heat of their bodies; there are the rooms so over-crowded that on an Inspector's visit the workers are hidden in bedrooms, showrooms, or kitchens; and there is the outrageous neglect of *proper sanitation* which often, where both sexes are employed, leads to indiscriminate indecency and to immorality.

There are, it is true, numbers of factories and work-places in which the employer, setting before himself ideals of respect and consideration for his fellow men, provides all that friends of the worker can ask; but **there are numbers who treat their workers as machines, and economize by neglecting provisions for their welfare.**

(4) I have said that lives like these are mainly spent in work, and those of us who have read the reports of the Women Inspectors, or are acquainted with the workers employed in any season trade, well know how true this is. In fruit-preserving, in fish-curing, in dressmaking or millinery, indeed in any trade that is at all liable to a press of work at a special season, the *hours worked* are serious indeed. During each summer we follow up cases in which young women and girls work from early morning till late into the night, journeying long distances to reach their homes; and we record cases in which women are kept at work all night, with a short interval of rest, in carrying out some mourning, wedding, or Court order. Work may last far into Saturday night, or may extend over Sunday itself, and the irony of such a condition of things comes home to us painfully when the Church is the sweater, and we read, as in the last Chief Inspector's Report, of the overwork of embroideresses, painfully struggling to meet their employers' demands before some Church Festival.

(5) I am writing for those who are in touch with the workers, and who, therefore, will know that I am right in stating that **a large proportion of women Factory workers earn only about 7s. or 8s. a week.** It is difficult enough to provide rent and fire, clothing and omnibus fares, out of such a sum; yet even these wages are not, in many cases, received intact, for *finer and deductions* figure largely in the books of all but the best employers. (Cf. C.S.U. Leaflet, No. 13, "Truck, the Law on Fines, etc.")

**Yet on all these points there exist laws which if enforced would avert every abuse with which I have dealt.** There are **laws** which forbid the taking home of work after a day spent in factory or workshop. There are **laws** which demand proper provision for escape in case of fire; **laws** which forbid locked doors or the

choking of emergency exits ; **laws** which command that all dangerous machinery should be fenced and guarded so that accidents should be averted ; **laws** which deal with sanitation, which forbid overcrowding, and fix the limit of persons who may be employed in a given space ; **laws** which provide for a reasonable temperature, so that great heat in summer or cold in winter should be alike impossible. More full than any other provisions are those which deal with sanitary accommodation, separate for the sexes, and with every arrangement which should make indecency impossible.

These regulations apply both to men and women ; but in addition there are **laws** dealing with hours, meal-times, and holidays, which apply to women and young people under eighteen years of age. For instance, work late into the night or on Sunday is illegal, nor must it be carried on after four o'clock on Saturday in non-textile factories and workshops. I say non-textile advisedly, for in the textile factories, such as those in which cotton and woollens and jute are woven, there is no overtime, and work ceases either at twelve or at one p.m. But to return to the non-textile factory or workshops, with which the visitors in the South of England most frequently deal. The legal twelve hours' day—from 6-6, 7-7, or 8-8, with its hour and a half taken off for dinner and tea, may only be increased on thirty occasions in the year by an additional two hours, and this legal overtime may not be worked on more than three occasions in a week. There are some other special provisions as to overtime, into which I need not enter: in fruit-preserving and fish-curing factories, overtime for sixty days is possible ; but in the great majority of cases the limit of thirty days is all that is allowed. There are very elaborate provisions (they are at present under consideration for further amendment) which forbid all fines and deductions that are not reasonable, and which demand that the workers should know the amount of any fine inflicted, and the reason for its infliction.

**The law as to Laundries** is exceedingly complicated. They may be in the same position as other factories and workshops, and controlled by the same regulations, or they may be working under one or two other alternative systems, both of which allow the longer hours of 6-7, 7-8, or 8-9, for certain days in the week, and both of which enact that though there shall be a half-holiday in the week it shall not necessarily be on Saturday. It will be necessary to question the workers in order to discover whether their Laundry is being controlled by ordinary Factory and Workshop regulations, or whether they are working under one of the other systems. This the workers will know by looking at the abstract of the **law**, which has to be hung up in every factory and workshop, so that all may know the protection which is extended to them. As, however, the **law** in these different systems is difficult to follow, it will be better whenever there seems ground for complaint, to communicate direct with the Industrial Law Committee, and let them inquire into the matter. It is satisfactory to note that however confused the regulations as to hours, the



**law** as to ventilation and drainage is clear, and both these provisions and those as to temperature are elaborate.

There is now under the new **law** a certain amount of inspection for "Institution Laundries," which previously were unprotected.

The cry of the **shop-assistant** has met so far with little response from the State, but those of us who are in touch with them should remember the **law** for the provision of seats, and the fact that seventy-four hours, including meal-times, is the weekly limit for young people under eighteen.

**The law dealing with workmen's compensation** is elaborate and intricate, and the best plan is to communicate immediately with the Hon. Secretary of the Industrial Law Committee, when an accident occurs to a worker in the course of employment, and to warn the worker, after sending in a claim, to take no step and to refuse any offer from the employer till advice comes from the Committee.

On the one hand, then, we have the workmen's charter, and on the other a condition of things in which those who are feeblest and least able to protect themselves are constantly suffering from illegalities. How shall we redress the balance, and bring the **law** to bear on the work-places where its provisions are unknown? There are, it is true, Inspectors appointed by the State to enforce these **laws**. About one hundred and sixty **Inspectors** of whom twelve are women, enforce the **law** for nearly **five million workers** in factories and workshops and laundries. In the regular routine of work a work-place can be visited only once a year, and the Inspectors depend for any special knowledge of impositions on those they are appointed to protect, on the workers themselves and their friends.

The enforcement of the **law** must rest here—as in all other cases—on enlightened public opinion, and on the assistance given by the citizens who have created them.

Almost every family in the land is in touch with some **worker** of some Denomination. If she is informed as to the agencies appointed to assist those among whom she works, she will become the most efficient agent for the enforcement of industrial **laws**. Many already communicate with our Committee, which **exists to spread a knowledge of the laws, to receive and sift complaints and to send them to the right authority, and in this way to act as a buffer between the worker and the employer.**

I can only end by appealing to those who read this paper in the name of our common Christianity for help in the enforcement of these **laws**. I have written in vain if I have failed to show that such regulations, framed for the protection of the weak, and the uplifting of the down trodden, are indeed the **Laws of God**.

**All Complaints should be addressed to the Hon. Sec. Industrial Law Committee, York Mansion, York Street, Westminster.**

# CHILD LABOUR

By MISS CONSTANCE SMITH.

THE squandering of income is a sufficiently foolish pastime, but when it comes to reckless drafts on capital there is serious danger ahead of the spendthrift. And where the spendthrift is not an individual, but a nation; where the inheritance wasted consists, not in stocks and shares, but in the lives of future citizens, only a speedy and complete change of policy can avert disaster.

As matters stand to-day, we in this country are playing the spendthrift's part. **We are mortgaging the future in the persons of the nation's children.**

Eleven years have passed since the late Mrs. Hogg overheard, and interpreted to official ears, the unheeded cry of the wage-earning child. In those eleven years we have had, thanks in large measure to the action which she initiated, the Parliamentary Return of 1898, the Inter-Departmental Committee on Employment of School Children, in 1903 the Employment of Children Act. Let us see, briefly, what each of those have given us.

Of the Return, confessedly imperfect though it was, came knowledge. We learned that the number of school children working for wages could not be put below 200,000. Of these over 5,000 were found to be under 8, over 16,000 under 9; many were working 30, 40, 50 hours a week; quite a considerable number far over 50 hours. Details of their toiling lives were given, which made plain, even while they created wonder that childish strength could bear so much, how these things might be: the boy of ten working 72 hours a week on a farm for a wage of three shillings; the other boy whose newspaper selling extended over 100 hours a week, including Sundays; their fellow who played "waker-up" to twenty-five working men from 4.30 to 5.30 a.m., was a paper-boy from 6 to 9, and an elementary scholar during the rest of the day. (His master bore witness that he attended regularly, but often fell asleep in the afternoon.) There was the little girl who carried out parcels for a milliner from 7.30 to 9.30, 12.30 to 1.30, and 4.30 to 8 on school-days, snatching such food and education as she could get in the intervals of this occupation. Some of the worst cases of overwork were those of children whose school career had previously been distinguished for rapid progress. Not only physical development, but mental ability, is stunted by a system which demands of the growing child that he shall at once labour and learn.

The Committee was much more scientific in its procedure. It took a vast amount of evidence from all sorts of people. It called witnesses from town and country: school teachers and attendance

officers, School Board and Municipal authorities, medical and other experts. It sat, not only in London, but in Liverpool, Manchester, and Birmingham. And it not only confirmed the conclusions drawn from the Parliamentary Return; it went beyond them. It found the numbers of wage-earning school children to be even greater than the Return had led us to suppose. It calculated that, including half-timers, **three hundred thousand children attending school were in paid employment in 1898.** These figures do not include the children who, legally or illegally, are employed as full-timers, having "passed their standards" or gained certificates of attendance. Probably we should be well within the mark in reckoning the full-time army at **another two hundred thousand.**

**But are not the numbers so employed decreasing?** Unhappily, NO. In this respect we have made, in eleven years, no appreciable advance.

Setting aside certain special Acts for the protection of child-acrobats, and for regulating the performances of "theatre children," the Employment of Children Act is the sole safeguard offered by legislation for the wage-earning school child in full attendance.

Its statutory provisions are few. Having provided that no child shall be employed between nine at night and six in the morning; that no child under eleven shall be employed in street-trading; that half-timers are not to be employed, in addition, in an occupation outside the factory; and that children are not to be employed in lifting excessive weights, or in occupations likely to injure life, limb, or health, the Act leaves it to the local authorities to decide what bye-laws—if any—shall be made for the protection of child labour.

**The Act is now (April, 1908) over four years old. And less than a third of the whole number of local authorities entitled to make bye-laws under the Act have done so.** This is hardly encouraging. It does not look as if the electors of these apathetic local authorities were awake to the peril we are in, through the premature exploitation of our children's brains and strength.

Bye-laws, where they exist, differ widely in extent and usefulness. Some, like those of the London County Council, forbid all employment before a certain age—generally eleven—and limit the number of hours that may be worked in the week. Others content themselves with a few regulations applicable to street-trading only. The Act directs the attention of local authorities to the "desirability of preventing the employment of girls under sixteen in the streets"; but few are found to prohibit such employment, though a good many permit it only on the condition that the girl is accompanied by her parent or guardian.

**Then the bye-laws are frequently evaded.** Quite recently the Bradford magistrates had before them the case of a little girl of eleven, attending school, who, on a false certificate of age given by her father, had been employed as a half-timer in a mill, and, in the

evening took part in a pantomime. The school and working day of that child extended from eight in the morning till eleven at night.

As long, no doubt, are the hours of many **little home-workers** who help to paste match-boxes or "link" hooks and eyes; while their years are often even fewer.

**From the moral point of view, street-trading is the worst possible occupation for children.** There is no other which engages so many. We must add to the injurious effect of street-trading on the character of boys and girls alike, and the part it plays in unfitting them for any steady occupation in later life, the fact that it is frequently the direct way to the police-court and the prison. The chief constables of great cities bear testimony to its efficacy in creating the juvenile criminal. The after-career of girls who have begun life as street-traders is too often one of misery and shame. All the barriers that should have guarded them have been thrown down at the most critical moment of their lives: what marvel if they never come back to the shelter from which they have been thrown out? And to what decent employment can a girl hope to gain entrance who has spent her teens in hawking goods on the pavements of London, Liverpool, or Newcastle?

For the boy street-trading is hardly less fatal. He learns to be "sharp," to outwit his fellow, to know exactly how far he may go in attempting to defeat or defy his natural enemy, the policeman; he learns nothing else. The precious years that should have fitted him to become a bread-winner and a citizen go by; and, when manhood comes, he takes his place with the other loafers at the street corner. It is the only place for which his training as a street-trader has fitted him.

These boy-workers, flung prematurely out into the roaring tide of city streets, are ready-made recruits for the army of the unemployable, certain candidates, sooner or later, for the workhouse, if not for the gaol.

**The pity of it!** Physical qualities that would have made the boy a strong, able, efficient worker, the girl the healthy mother of healthy children, destroyed by overwork, and exposure, and the unnatural strain of a life that no child is fitted to endure. Bright wits dulled, or turned to vile uses; the sorry farce of education painfully persisted in, to the despair of the conscientious teacher, often to the actual suffering of the weary pupil. Not only the bloom of childish innocence rubbed off, but the very capacity of childish joy, in too many cases, lost. **The pity of it,** and the reckless waste, both of human capital and of that capital which is lodged in banks! For, though we recognize our error too late to save the children, we shall pay for them and for it. We are paying now; with every succeeding generation the payment becomes heavier.

"Save the children!" This is the cry of every social reformer. Here is one way of saving them—to see that their future as workers and human beings is not marred by a childhood of premature labour.



To this end **we must insist that our local authority shall make bye-laws regulating children's employment ; we must take care that these are adequate, and that they are enforced.** Municipal electors have only to be in earnest in such matters to make their influence felt. A strong body of public opinion in any town could quickly make street-trading by girls—yes, and by boys also—a thing forbidden in that town.

Women who, where they are ratepayers, have a direct voice in choosing the County and Borough Councillors, and also, by the law of 1907, can be elected as Councillors themselves, have a special interest in this question. Church-workers and District Visitors of all religious bodies who will keep a copy of the local bye-laws within reach, and a vigilant eye for their infringement, can serve as true protectors of childhood in countless instances.

But there is yet more to be done if we would see the evil of child labour abolished. We must extend and strengthen the meagre statutory provisions of the Employment of Children Act. **We have to get rid of the bad half-time system. We have, by the raising of the school age, to render the employment of any "full-timer" who can rightly be described as a "child" impossible.** We have, by emptying the labour market of the children who have crowded it, and are crowding it more densely every year, to help forward the solution of that problem of unemployment which haunts us all.

There is no appeal so compelling as the appeal of weakness. **We cannot disregard the mute claim of the child labourer:** was not the Master's sternest condemnation reserved for those who should offend "one of these little ones"? The City of Vision is full of boys and girls playing in its streets; and we, according to our measure, would build Jerusalem.

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# THE INFANT DEATH ROLL     =     =     =     =

PART I. THE FACTS

BY REGINALD TRIBE, M.R.C.S.

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*Price One Penny*

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# The Christian Social Union

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**T**HIS Union consists of Members of the Church of England who have the following objects at heart :—

1. To claim for the Christian law the ultimate authority to rule social practice.
2. To study in common how to apply the moral truths and principles of Christianity to the social and economic difficulties of the present time.
3. To present Christ in practical life as the living Master and King, the enemy of wrong and selfishness, the power of righteousness and love.

# THE INFANT DEATH ROLL

BY

REGINALD TRIBE, M.R.C.S.,

*Clinical Assistant to the Victoria Hospital for Children, Chelsea.*

## I. THE FACTS

UNDER the grim and austere title of "Infant Mortality" is hidden the most pathetic social problem of modern times. All those who work amongst the people know the pitiful story that nine out of ten slum babies are born healthy; and then the forces of breeding and surrounding, beginning to get to work on these vigorous pink little specimens of humanity, change so many of them into the white sour babies who cry so fretfully, and the wasted little scraps whose wizened look always arrests the attention of the visitor to the children's hospitals. Everybody has read of the little white funerals that pour out of the streets of a city, especially in the hot days of August and September. It is all this that constitutes the problem of Infant Mortality, and the problem is the same whether one studies it as a student of public health, who is concerned with questions of national importance, or as an onlooker moved by the sheer pity of it.

But a vague emotion of the wrongness of it will not help us much; the subject needs patient scientific study. And when we come to study the remedies, I think we shall find that it is worse than useless to do the wrong thing, and, moreover, that individual effort is almost powerless.

The problem of Infant Mortality is concerned with the deaths of children under one year of age; this is quite an arbitrary age limit, and it has been taken because the figures with regard to infants' deaths under this age are most easily

obtained. A child under school age passes through the two most important phases of his life at nine months of age, when he cuts the first few teeth and ought to be weaned, and at about three years of age, when his diet resembles that of the adult in its main points. The first birthday is not a point at which a baby's health and existence suddenly become assured, for after this date the same forces that were acting to produce a high infant mortality are still at work, though with diminished power.

When it is said that the Infant Mortality of a certain town or district stands at such and such a figure, it means that, of every 1,000 children born alive, that particular number die during the first year of life; for instance, the infant mortality of England for 1904 was 145; this means that of every 1,000 children born alive during that year 145 died before reaching their first birthday. The births of children who are born dead are not registered, so that stillborn children are not included in the returns, and they must be added to the whole total.

#### THE DISTRIBUTION OF INFANT MORTALITY

For the past half century the general death rate has been declining, from 20·8 per thousand in 1851 to 15·4 per thousand in 1906. This is due, no doubt, to the great advance in personal and public hygiene, and to the prevention of the spread of infectious diseases, like typhoid fever and smallpox; this remarkable improvement has taken place in spite of the fact that we have changed as a whole from an agricultural and rural people to an industrial town-dwelling nation; one writer very shrewdly observes, "dwelling in towns has taught us perforce the science of hygiene." With this great diminution in the general death rate, there has been no decrease in the Infant Mortality rate; in fact, in many years the figure has been worse than it was in 1857. The figures for England have been—

1857	-	155.	1881	-	130.
1861	-	153.	1891	-	149.
1871	-	158.	1901	-	150.

It was worst in 1899, when it rose to 165.

The most remarkable point about the Infant Mortality rate is the great variation between different places; we have at one end of the scale:—

Reigate	-	-	87.	Wiltshire	-	84.
Hornsey	-	-	81.	Westmoreland	-	88.
Burton-on-Trent	-	-	106.	Sussex	-	101.

And at the other—

Longton	-	-	209.	Lancashire	-	157.
Preston	-	-	178.	Staffordshire	-	144.
Rhondda	-	-	180.	Glamorganshire	-	150.

The mortality varies also from year to year, and is generally lowest in a year with a cool and wet summer; for instance, in 1894 it was 136, but in 1895, 160. This is due almost entirely to the ravages of one disease.

#### THE ASSOCIATIONS OF INFANT MORTALITY

In the popular mind the heavy death rate among infants is ascribed to a large number and variety of causes—poverty, overcrowding, bad housing, town life, drink, and the ignorance of the mothers; while there are some who think that the whole question of physical deterioration is due to a failure in the vigour of the stock, and that there is an ebb and flow in the vitality of a race that is inherent or due to intrinsic causes that are inexplicable. This view is most unscientific in theory, and it is not borne out in facts; the Inter-departmental Committee that sat to investigate the causes of Physical Deterioration in 1903-4 came to the conclusion that the evil springs from a multitude of causes that it is quite possible to remedy.

The first point that will strike the inquirer is that high Infantile Mortality rates are almost entirely affairs of towns; all the worst examples of these death rates come from towns, and, as a whole, the rate is much higher in urban districts than in rural; counties which contain many large industrial centres, as Lancashire and Staffordshire, do fare much worse than counties that are mainly agricultural, like Dorset, Hereford, and Westmorland. We have clear evidence, however, that it is not Town Life *per se* that is bringing this about, but that



it is probably the accompanying circumstances of industrial life, overcrowding, late hours, and unhealthy amusements.

It must be remembered that town life demands a very much higher standard of living in every way, and, therefore, that poverty will have a much more deleterious effect upon the people of a town than upon those who live in the country. In support of this argument we find that wealthy Marylebone and prosperous Holborn, both in the centre of London, have infant death rates of only 99 and 109 respectively, whilst in Glasgow the rate in 1901 varied in the different districts of the town from 273 down to 63.

There is a certain relationship between *Overcrowding* and infant mortality, but it must not be forgotten that overcrowding is a direct index of poverty, and from this it follows that when we have conditions of overcrowding we have with this a social environment that is bad on every point. There are several ways of estimating overcrowding recognized, viz., the number of houses to the acre, persons to the acre, or persons to a room; but it is chiefly this last type of overcrowding that is concerned with our problem. As the percentage of persons living in overcrowded conditions of this kind rises, so does the Infant Mortality rise too. These are the figures for London.<sup>1</sup>

#### *Infant Mortality.*

Districts with less than 10 per cent. of overcrowding	142
"    with    10—15    "    "    "	180
"    "    15—20    "    "    "	196
"    "    20—25    "    "    "	193
"    "    25—30    "    "    "	210
"    "    30—35    "    "    "	222
"    "    above 35    "    "    "	223

The technical definition of overcrowding used in this table is that "where more than two persons live in one room, the whole tenement being less than five rooms."

One interesting point to be noticed is that the vital statistics of most model dwellings have a much lower infant mortality than those of the neighbouring streets—e.g., a

<sup>1</sup> Appendix, Report of Committee on Physical Deterioration, p. 52.

mortality rate of 58 in the Peabody Buildings—although model dwellings have a very much larger number of persons to the acre than do streets of small houses; this is very largely due, no doubt, to the fact that model dwellings are inhabited by a relatively prosperous and respectable type of family.

It is difficult to get statistics about *Poverty* except by house-to-house visitation; moreover the income of a family is no index unless it is reckoned by the total of the year's earnings instead of the week's, and the number in the family is taken into account. The proportion of pauperism in a district is not a trustworthy indication of the poverty, and it is not surprising therefore that no very constant relationship between Poverty (whether primary or secondary) and Infant Mortality has been traced, although Mr. Rowntree has worked out some very striking figures for York. The fact that there is a low Infant Mortality in agricultural districts, and that there is a high percentage of pauperism and poverty in these districts is very instructive, and can be accounted for by other considerations.

The question of the part played by the *Ignorance of Mothers* in the feeding and hygiene of babies must also be considered. As a rule, this factor is accounted the sole cause of the great loss of infant life by those whose lot lies in the serener walks of prosperity and who do not mean to be bothered by the problems that affect the masses, the reason being that it shifts the responsibility from their shoulders to the mothers themselves. To judge from the mortality figures, it is not reasonable to suppose that Lancashire is nearly twice as ignorant as Westmorland, or that ignorance is three times as fatal to babies in Longton as it is in Bedford. Miss Squire found that there was far more ignorance at Burnley than at Preston, yet the Infant Mortality at Preston, at the time of her inquiries, was 236, and at Burnley 210. But as I shall have more to say on this question of Ignorance later, we will pass on to the consideration of what is the most important causative agent of all.

In 1877 the local authorities at Macclesfield were much disturbed by the high rate of infant deaths in the town. An

inquiry was held, and the medical officer of health quoted the following figures of the mortality of children during the first year of life, the first two were obtained from Farr's tables, and the last from statistics made in a certain mill in Macclesfield :—

Upper classes	-	-	-	-	80
Agricultural labourers	-	-	-	-	102
The female workers in the mill under observation	-	-	-	-	280

Sir John Simon, whose insight into public health questions was almost that of a seer, had for many years before this suspected that *Married Women's Employment* was at the root of this particular question; since his time, investigations on this head have been carried out in many towns and districts, although no systematic survey of the whole of England has been made. The reports issued by the Dundee Social Union, the various Medical Officers of Health, and the Chief Inspector of Factories, all point to the same conclusion:—that, with very few exceptions, wherever there is a high infant mortality there is a high percentage of women of child-bearing age who are working. Of all the elements in the causation of a high mortality amongst babies, overcrowding, drunkenness, poverty, bad sanitation, there is not one that is so constantly associated with it as this married women's work.

To take one instance.<sup>1</sup> The M.O.H. for Staffordshire was very much struck with the difference between the rates of Infant Mortality in the northern and southern halves of that county. The general hygienic conditions in these two halves are not unlike, but there is this great difference, that while in the north the industry is mainly that of pottery, in the south mining and iron-founding are the prevailing trades. A strong suspicion about the meaning of this may be gained when it is realized that pottery employs a very large number of women, but that the other industries named do not. So a list of the towns in Staffordshire was made, and they were classified

<sup>1</sup> Report of Conference on Infantile Mortality in London, 1906.

according to the percentage of married women employed ; the following table resulted :—

<i>Percentage of married women employed.</i>	<i>Infant mortality.</i>
Under 6       -       -       -       -       -	149
6 to 12       -       -       -       -       -	156
Over 12       -       -       -       -       -	193

In Dundee those who were drawing up the report of the Social Union divided up the mothers into two groups: (I) those who worked before and after marriage, and (II) those who did not work after marriage. The mortality rates per 1,000 born were as follows :—

	<i>Group I.</i>	<i>Group II.</i>
Dying under 1 year (Infant Mortality)	418	280
„     between 1 and 5 years       -       -	66	53
„     „     5 and 15 years       -       -	6	5
Total death rate of children under 15 years of age       -       -       -       -	490	338

For a full discussion of the subject one cannot do better than refer the reader to the work of Dr. Newman, whose excellent book *Infant Mortality* sums up all the knowledge of the subject that has been accumulated in recent years.

It may have seemed a puzzle to many people why Lancashire should have the highest rate of infant mortality amongst the counties of England and Wales. Lancashire is the seat of the most prosperous industry in our country—the manufacture of textiles ; the workers are well organized, their pay is not bad in comparison with other trades, the stress of slackness of work does not fall on individuals owing to a wise arrangement amongst the operatives, good dividends are paid, and the industry is increasing steadily ; yet for all this Lancashire heads the list with the loss of 157 babies out of every 1,000 within a year of their birth. It is no longer a puzzle when the tables about the workers employed in textile factories show a very large percentage of women, and the fatal effect of married women's work upon their babies is realized.

## THE FATAL DISEASES OF CHILDREN

Having examined the chief causes of our problem, it will be as well to turn to inquire what are the actual causes of death amongst infants. Roughly speaking, they may be divided up into three groups :—

1. Prematurity and congenital feebleness, causing 34 per cent. of the whole.
2. Diarrhoea and wasting diseases, causing 25 per cent. of the whole.
3. Bronchitis and pneumonia, causing 19 per cent. of the whole, including whooping cough and measles.

I have not included convulsions in any of these groups, for although convulsions may be the cause of death, they are not a disease but the symptoms of a disease. Convulsions are most commonly caused by wrong feeding, teething, meningitis, rickets, and some acute infectious diseases ; but from the cases seen in hospital practice the most common cause is *enteritis*, due to wrong feeding. Convulsions are responsible for a further 9 per cent. of deaths, and this figure should be included in Group 2, thus raising the proportion of deaths due to digestive trouble to 34 per cent.

For the sake of simplicity, whooping cough and measles have been included here in Group 3, because these two diseases are fatal from the bronchitis and pneumonia which complicate them, rather than from the severity of the disease itself.

### I. PREMATUREITY AND CONGENITAL FEEBLENESS.

This group of diseases is one that exerts its most fatal influence during the first three months of life, and of the total number dying from these causes, about seven-eighths die within this period. Somewhat of a paradox will be apparent here to those who have studied the subject of physical deterioration ; it is commonly stated, and upon very good evidence, that ninety per cent. of babies are born healthy and strong, and yet we are losing over 40,000 babies every year from congenital feebleness and immaturity, 35,000 of them within the first three months



of life. The explanation of it is probably this, that although the babies look well and strong at birth, they are without stamina, and this lack of stamina does not show itself immediately, in just the same way as it is impossible to judge between one very young plant and another.

There are two sets of influences that are at work on any individual determining his physical characteristics, those which are derived from his ancestors, and those which come from the individual's surroundings—for instance his food, the nature of his dwelling-place, exposure to cold or to disease, his occupation, etc. This latter set of influences constitute what is called in scientific language "*environment*," the former are summed up under the term "*heredity*."

Although a child begins to exist in the eyes of the law from the day when it is born, from a medical point of view that child began to exist at the moment of conception, nine months before its birth. Previous to conception a child is only a potential being, although the hereditary influences that are going to work on it are in process of formation at that time. Most people seem to think that all the influences which are at work on a child before birth are those of heredity, and after birth those of environment, and that the new-born child is the product of heredity and nothing else; but it is most important to realize that the hereditary influences cease at the moment of conception, and from that moment until the time of birth it is the influence of environment that is at work. Of course many of the manifestations of hereditary characteristics do not occur until later in life. During the nine months of gestation the unborn child derives the whole of its being from its mother, and if the mother fares badly the child suffers too; if this point is grasped, it will be seen that much more than is commonly supposed can be done towards rearing up a healthier race of babies.

At birth a baby undergoes an extensive and sudden change in his surroundings, and his ways of obtaining food and warmth and air are completely altered; it is this change that the weaker babies cannot stand, and this is the cause responsible for the large group of deaths due to feebleness. Many experts in

Infant Mortality look upon bad hygiene in the mothers during pregnancy as the sole cause of this weakness in the infants; and we shall not be very far wrong if we dogmatize and say that the whole death rate in babies which comes under the head of immaturity and feebleness is due to adverse influences acting on the mothers before the babies are born. Amongst these influences are lack of food, too much work (especially factory work), worry, alcohol, working with lead, and the breathing of polluted air. That the life led by the mother during pregnancy has a very powerful effect on the child may be illustrated by the following figures which were obtained by Professor Pinard. He weighed five hundred children of mothers who were working the whole of their pregnancy, of those who were resting during the last few months, and of others who were resting all the while; and he found the average weights to be:—

	<i>lbs. oz.</i>	
Mothers working all the time - - -	6	10
Mothers resting during the last few months -	7	4
Mothers resting the whole time - - -	7	7

## II. DIARRHŒA AND WASTING DISEASES

The infant is a most curious paradox, for he is at once the most feeble and the most hardy of mortals; he pulls through the severest illnesses with scarcely any effort, but he cannot stand any careless or wrong management. An adult usually dies from a definite disease that has a name, but a baby can die from sheer neglect or mismanagement. It is quite true that such defects of baby hygiene often end in diseases that can be named—such as diarrhœa or marasmus, but the cause of death is really wrong and unhygienic treatment. This great group of diseases which is characterized by diarrhœa is due in the main to wrong feeding, and as the question of breast-feeding will be dwelt upon later, a minute discussion about these deaths is unnecessary. Most of these cases of diarrhœa are chronic and may extend over many months, but there is one form of diarrhœa that must be dealt with separately.

*Acute summer diarrhœa of infants, or English cholera*, is a disease that is very fatal to infants. It makes its appearance in July, and is at its worst in August and September; it varies greatly from year to year in intensity, and it is mainly owing to this disease that the infant mortality shows variations from year to year. It is always worst in a hot, dry summer. The disease is characterized by violent diarrhœa and vomiting, and in a few hours a child may be so drained of the fluid in the body that it dies. If the child survives the first two or three days of the illness, it often becomes subacute and causes death after a week or ten days. Summer diarrhœa is somewhat of a mystery at present, but that it is due to a germ is almost without doubt; there are strong reasons for supposing that decomposing household refuse is the breeding ground of the germs, and that they are carried from place to place by flies. Although this very fatal ailment is a medical problem, it is primarily a social problem, for it draws over 80 per cent. of its victims from handfed children.

*Rickets* is a disease about which there is so much ignorance and misconception that a note on this will not be out of place. Rickets is a disease of nutrition characterized by softness of the bones, enlargement of the bones near the joints, delay in the appearance of the teeth, flabbiness of the muscles, pot belly, and an instability of the nervous system which often gives rise to convulsions. The deformities seen in rickety children are produced by the weight of the body acting upon the soft bones. Rickets is due to a deficiency of fatty and meaty constituents in the diet, whilst lack of fresh air and sunshine are most important contributory causes; the disease is therefore quite preventible and is not the visitation of nature that many mothers seem to think. Needless to say, it is almost unknown in children under nine months of age who are breast-fed. Nature does her work better than that in spite of maternal indiscretions in diet; it is usually seen between eight months and three years of age, that is to say from the time of the commencement of weaning until the time when the child's diet approximates to that of the adult.

### III. BRONCHITIS AND PNEUMONIA

Bronchitis and pneumonia in infants occur usually as complications in the acute infectious diseases, whooping-cough and measles being the worst. Exposure to cold or damp air is also a common cause, and in this respect bare arms and legs are much to blame. Ricketty and misfed children are very prone to bronchitis, and when attacked their chances of survival are much worse than other children's.

#### BREAST FEEDING

There is one other set of figures that will throw great light upon the problem we are considering—the figures relating to the mortality of hand-fed children. The M.O.H. for Derby instigated a very close inquiry in that town into the comparative mortality of breast-fed and hand-fed babies. The figures that were ascertained from several thousand cases gave the following death rates:—

Amongst hand-fed babies	-	-	-	217.7
Amongst babies partly fed on breast and				
partly by hand	-	-	-	108.5
Amongst breast-fed babies	-	-	-	71.6

The deaths from diarrhoea in hand-fed children are nearly seven times as many as in breast-fed children, and the deaths from bronchitis nearly twice as numerous, showing that hand-feeding causes trouble not only to the digestive organs, but that it has a bad effect upon the child's whole physique. Wherever statistics are taken on this head, it is *invariably* found that the mortality amongst hand-fed children is much higher than amongst breast-fed children. It may be argued that in the cases where hand-feeding is resorted to, the home conditions are bad, and that it is poverty, dirt, and carelessness that are exercising such a baleful influence on the child. But the figures for hand-feeding include all classes, and breast-feeding is very frequently given up by middle and upper class mothers. All authorities of note are agreed that hand-feeding under the best circumstances, with special milk and nurses to keep the bottles clean, is a difficult task: how much more

difficult then is it for the mother in poor circumstances? The best artificial food that a baby can have is cow's or goat's milk, and even then there are the following reasons why breast-feeding is so much superior:—

(a) Cow's milk is very different in the percentage composition of its constituents (fat, carbohydrate and proteid) from human milk, and it must be very considerably modified before it is fit for consumption by an infant. Furthermore, the strength and composition of human milk alter very much during the nine months that a child should be suckled.

(b) Cow's milk during the first stage of digestion in the child's stomach is transformed into a large, firm clot that is difficult to digest; human milk forms a small, flaky clot.

(c) In breast-feeding the milk passes straight from the breast to the infant without any chance of contamination by dirt or disease. With cow's milk, every stage, from the milk-pail at the farm to the baby's bottle, is liable to contamination by dirt or the germs of disease.

(d) The breast milk passes into the child's system at an even temperature from beginning to end of the feed; whereas an artificial food cannot keep at the same temperature, but must be either too hot or too cold at some point in the feeding.

So many are the advantages of breast-feeding that one can say that breast-feeding is the infant's birthright, and one cannot look with anything but disgust upon the mother who neglects this her first maternal duty owing to laziness or the calls of pleasure. It is pathetic to see the number of mothers who want to nurse their babies but cannot, because necessity drives them out to work or they are not getting enough to eat themselves. It reminds one of the cartoon by Cynicus which bears the verse:—

“Both rich and poor alike  
 Their nakedness display;  
 The poor because they must,  
 The rich because they may.”

#### END OF PART I

PART II, “The Remedies” is published in a separate Pamphlet, No. 20, price One Penny.



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# THE INFANT DEATH ROLL     =     =     =     =

PART II. THE REMEDIES

BY REGINALD TRIBE, M.R.C.S.

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*Price One Penny*

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THIS Union consists of Members of the Church of England who have the following objects at heart :—

1. To claim for the Christian law the ultimate authority to rule social practice.
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3. To present Christ in practical life as the living Master and King, the enemy of wrong and selfishness, the power of righteousness and love.

# THE INFANT DEATH ROLL

BY

REGINALD TRIBE, M.R.C.S.,

*Clinical Assistant to the Victoria Hospital for Children, Chelsea.*

## II. THE REMEDIES

WE leave the study of the facts concerning Infant Mortality with the consciousness that there are three elements in the problem around which the other facts centre.

1. *The enormous loss of life due to Immaturity.*
2. *The fatality of Hand-Feeding.*
3. *The question of the Working Mother.*

### IMMATURITY

The causes that are at work producing Immaturity and feebleness at birth may be divided up into three classes.

- a. Sanitary.—Those which have to do with the construction, air space and drainage of a house.
- b. Moral.—Drunkenness, syphilis (the hereditary venereal disease), and neglect of personal hygiene (late hours, etc.).
- c. Economic.—Excessive work, work outside home, insufficient food and the general effects of poverty.

Public opinion seems to be well awake about the necessity of proper sanitation and housing, and there is not a great deal to complain of in what is being done to improve sanitary conditions; the chief obstacle to the efforts of local authorities lies in the magnitude of private interests they have to cope with. Practically all the work of factory and sanitary inspectors consists in forcing employers and owners to do what they know to be right, and to comply with existing laws.

It is scarcely within the scope of this pamphlet to treat of the moral aspects, but it would not be out of place to suggest to those who are entrusted with moral teaching, whether it be

religious or merely ethical, that men's free wills have to battle against temptations that come solely and simply from adverse social conditions. The over-differentiation of industry has led to great monotony in work, and this may account to no small degree for the love of pleasure and excitement that finds vent in music-halls and football matches; it is not impossible that the premature exhaustion of nervous energies in child labour may lead to a desire in adult life to find the necessary stimulation in alcohol.

By far the most important set of causes are those which are grouped together under the heading of Economic Conditions, and there is no doubt that amongst these injurious influences there is none which is more deleterious to the unborn child than excessive work on the part of the mother. A moderate amount of light work does not hurt the woman who is pregnant; but, if the whole work of a household consisting of a husband and two or three children falls on an expectant mother, it is almost too much for her. When the household consists of five or six children and perhaps a lodger, the work is too much; and if the mother has to add charring or any other form of outside work to make up the family income to the level of absolute necessity, we have a state of things that is fatal to the well-being of the coming baby. Factory work of a light kind is not specially harmful, but the long hours usually worked in a factory are very prejudicial to the baby's interest.

Into the consideration of Immaturity, therefore, the question of the Working Mother enters very largely.

### THE FATALITY OF HAND-FEEDING

The figures relating to hand-feeding that were given amongst the facts in Part I scarcely need any explanation, and most certainly need no extraneous emphasis. The percentage of infants who are hand-fed varies considerably in different places, it may be as high as 63 per cent (Blackburn) or as low as 30 per cent. A certain number of children are fed partially on the breast, but let it be understood that directly any other food is added to the breast-feeding the element of danger is immediately introduced. A few mothers are unable to suckle their babies from medical causes, the ignorant habit of "breaking the nipple strings" in the mothers when they were babies themselves is much to blame for this. A considerable number of women do not get enough food to enable them to undergo the additional task of suckling; but by far the greater



number of infants who are fed by hand could be fed in the natural way. Of all the causes that lead to hand-feeding, the most common is the fact that the mother goes out to work; very few working-class mothers give up nursing their babies from laziness or selfishness, they realize how expensive it is to feed a baby by hand, and a fair number have been taught the danger of it.

### THE WORKING MOTHER

The employment that married women take up is of several types—there is the regular workshop and factory work like that which is to be found in the textile industries, laundries, jam-factories and breweries; then there is the home work that we have been familiarized with by the books upon Sweating; and finally a great deal of irregular work in charing and office cleaning.

Factory work, although it affords good and regular employment under tolerably fair conditions, is by far the worst kind of work from the point of view of Infant Mortality. It means almost inevitably the abandonment of breast-feeding, and we have seen what that means to the infant; it means, moreover, the absence of the mother from the home, except for a few hours in the evening. The maternal instinct is one of the strongest powers in the world, and even in the most degraded surroundings it is still to be found; drunkenness is the only thing that seems to kill it. No other woman can give the same care to a baby that the mother gives, and any infant misses terribly the thousand-and-one little attentions that he needs throughout the day. The loss of the mother's care is disastrous not only to the young infant but also to the older children; school teachers and attendance officers can tell us tales without number, how they have discovered children locked out from the house from early in the morning till the factories closed, being given a few pence to buy themselves fried fish for their dinners. This is not viciousness on the part of many mothers; sheer necessity drives them out to work, and factory work offers them the only chance of earning a wage adequate to the wants of the family. It may be remarked in passing that the great distress which is caused by the death of the husband does not figure much in the consideration of Infant Mortality, because it is a rare thing to find widows with babies less than a year old, nevertheless it is a feature in dealing with distress that must not be overlooked.

Deplorable though the pay and conditions of home-work are, home-work is a lesser evil to the children and babies than the absence of the mother at a factory; this aspect of home-work must not be forgotten when the problem of Sweating is to be dealt with. The frequency with which women go out charring, or doing other kinds of housework irregularly, is a thing that is not quite realized, but this point comes out very strikingly in the investigation now being carried on by the C.S.U. It is scarcely less fatal to the proper care of an infant than factory work without the counterbalancing advantages of comparatively good pay and regular work.

It is a common thing to read, in the reports of organizations devoted to the interests of women's work, of the satisfaction felt at an increase in the number of women working at any particular occupation or trade, and there is often expressed a certain fear lest the women should have their places taken by men. From the point of view of the emancipation of women this may be all very well, but from the doctor's point of view and the children's, there need be no hesitation in declaring that married women's work is an unqualified evil; and it will be explained also in dealing with the question of ignorance that the employment of unmarried girls in industrial life is the worst possible thing for the public welfare.

To sum up the evils caused by married women's work in a tabular form we get:—

#### Married Women's Work.

-----		
Immaturity.	Hand-feeding.	Loss of maternal care.

Now it is obvious that to inveigh against married women's work without investigating the causes for it would be very unscientific; so let us take this subject next. A great deal of regular factory work is undertaken by women owing to the low rate of pay their husbands receive. In Dundee at the time of the Dundee Social Union's inquiry, 8,789 married women were working: it was stated in the report that the employers preferred married women to girls as they were stronger and more trustworthy; and it was further stated that the women themselves disliked going out to work, and need not do so if their husbands earned £1 a week regularly. Yet there were nearly 9,000 wives working! In Lancashire it looks to an outside observer very much as if the cotton trade is so prosperous and

the wages so tempting that the women go out without the necessity of doing so.

The book on West Ham that has been published recently tells of the great amount of poorly paid home work that is done in that district, and reveals the strong connexion that there is between casual labour and wage-earning by women. We must account casual labour and unemployment, therefore, as the second cause of married women working; further evidence on this score is forthcoming from the C.S.U. inquiry.

The death or sickness of a husband is another urgent reason compelling a woman to go out into the world. In many garrison and naval towns there are a considerable number of soldiers' and sailors' wives who cannot live on the allowance set aside for them from the husband's pay, so they, too, must find some means of adding to the family income.

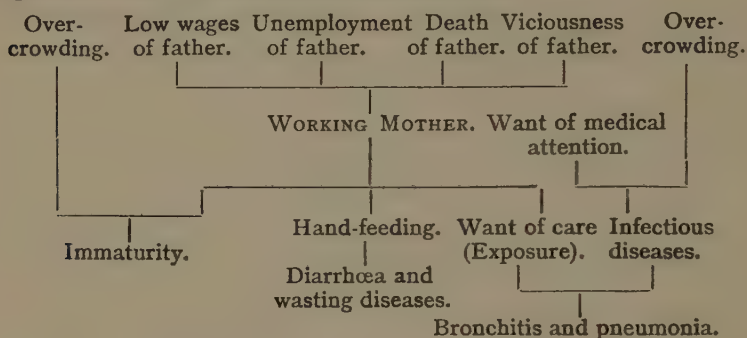
Finally there are a certain number of wives who have been deserted, and of mothers who, alas! are not wives. These are cases that want individual care in dealing with them, and not the application of a general social remedy. To sum up again by means of a table:—

Low wages of father.	Irregular employ- ment of father.	Death or sickness of father.	Vicious father.
Working Mother.			

It is not generally realized how much of the total income of a family is derived from the wife and children; and it is insisted in the book on "Sweated Industries," by Miss Black, that in many cases, owing to the stress of competition, whole families are working for the same wage that was received formerly by the father alone. Mr. Rowntree, in his investigations at York, found in the various classes the following percentage of income earned by the various members of the family.

	A.	B.	C.	D.
Family income per week	under 18s.	18s. to 21s.	21s. to 30s.	over 30s.
Man	38·8	76·4	84·3	71·2
Wife	50·0	13·3	5·3	3·0
Girls	5·0	3·5	4·7	17·4
Boys	5·0	3·8	3·1	5·2
Other sources e.g. lodgers	1·2	3·0	2·6	3·2

Very few people can have taken the trouble to think out how the many thousands of men out of work manage to live; they are really living on their wives and children; and if they were not kept from sheer starvation by this means, the national conscience would get such a shock that it would wake up and resolve to solve the Unemployed difficulty at once. Before passing on to the subject of Ignorance, the following diagram may serve to show that the Working Mother is the most important item in the whole of our problem.



It will show, too, how the whole basis of the problem lies in economic grounds, and that it is therefore a social and not a medical question; there can be no hesitation in saying that if doctors were given a free hand they could save some 50,000 or 60,000 infant lives every year.

The Ignorance of mothers in feeding and treating their babies is a very favourite topic in drawing-rooms, if one ever has the bad taste to mention the grim subject of the slum mother's dead baby. But there are many excuses for it. In the first place, a girl who is bound to go out and earn the very day she leaves school stands a poor chance of learning about the mysteries of domestic and maternal affairs. Let us not mince matters—our industrial system is greedily swallowing up the young girls who are the mothers of the generation that is to be, and is transforming them into factory hands, whilst it throws aside after a few years of boy labour the men who are destined to be the fathers, with the result that those who cannot stand the moral strain of unemployment become street corner loafers. Next, if a girl is able to stop at home, can she expect to learn much from a mother who is ignorant and shiftless, and probably distracted with the cares of half a dozen younger children? And in the last place it is not possible to expect anything but

ignorance from the sordid surroundings and dreary monotony of life in the meaner streets of our large towns. If we want to abolish ignorance about womanly matters in the coming generation, it is absolutely necessary to abolish factory life for girls, to render decent the surroundings of our workpeople, and to tackle ignorance in the present generation. There are thousands of mothers who cannot manage to look after their large families properly, and would be only too glad of properly trained helpers. Let, then, all the girls who have been factory hands in the past go out as properly trained domestic helps for the poorer mothers, who are doing the duty in which middle class mothers are failing, the magnificent and blessed duty of bearing children.

### III. THE REMEDIES.

WE may now turn with profit to consider the remedies that have been proposed, or are in actual use, to mitigate the sad state of things that has been disclosed. Practically all the remedies can be included under the following heads:—

- a.* Municipal milk dépôts, and a pure milk supply.
- b.* Dinners for nursing mothers.
- c.* Health visitors and teaching centres.
- d.* Crèches.
- e.* Nurseries in factories.
- f.* Factory legislation.

*a. Municipal milk dépôts and a pure milk supply.* We have seen that one of the reasons for the greater mortality amongst hand-fed children is improper feeding. The first element in improper feeding is Impure Milk; the impurity in milk is of three kinds:—dirt, germs that produce decomposition in the milk, and germs that cause illness to those who drink the milk. The boiling of milk destroys the *pathogenic* or disease producing germs, but after boiling there still remains behind dirt and the decomposition or souring that is caused by germs. It is only of very partial use therefore to boil the



milk; what is necessary is that the milk should be kept pure from the very source. The damage done by an impure milk supply has been so much over-emphasized that there is some danger of thinking that the provision of a pure milk supply will settle the whole question of Infant Mortality. The other element in the improper feeding of infants is the question of mixing the milk with the right amount of diluting fluids (water, barley water, etc.), for the strength of the milk that an infant requires at different ages varies very greatly. Now the milk dépôts are doing a good work in both these directions, in that they are supplying pure milk, diluted to the strength suitable to the age of the infant; but one cannot help thinking that in spite of the strictest supervision they are doing harm in encouraging mothers not to suckle their children. If it becomes known that a supply of pure milk suited to the baby's requirements is forthcoming, the medical and domestic reasons why a mother thinks she will feed her baby by hand acquire a greater weight in her mind, and may often turn the balance in favour of artificial feeding. As it is, the proportion of babies who are fed from a milk dépôt is very small, and if it is possible to reduce the number of hand-fed children still further by other reforms, it will be an effort of far greater value.

*b. Dinners for Nursing Mothers.* This is a type of charity that is not much in vogue in England yet, but is well established in France and other Continental countries. Many mothers find that their babies do not thrive or that they cannot suckle them at all, solely and simply because they themselves are not getting enough to eat; to meet this there have been established in many towns kitchens or "restaurants"; where mothers who are nursing their babies may come and obtain a good meal free, or for a small sum. The results have been excellent, in that it is reported from all such schemes that the babies have thriven well; but this remedy can only be a palliative measure, although—unlike the milk dépôts—it is a palliative of the right sort, because it encourages breast-feeding. "Prevention rather than cure" should be the motto of all social reform, and reformers' efforts should be directed towards preventing poverty rather than feeding those who are the victims of it. Our present treatment of poverty is not unlike letting one's friends walk over a cliff and spreading mattresses to break their fall.

An equally important point is the feeding of the mother

during pregnancy, or in other words the feeding of the baby before he is born; some of these charities, therefore, have extended their operations to mothers for the last two or three months of their pregnancy. It is very essential also for a good supply of breast milk that the mother should be fed up before her confinement, and the inclusion of expectant mothers in the scope of the work has greatly aided this object. A happy result has been noticed at one of these mothers' kitchens, in that several mothers who have not been able to suckle previous children have been enabled to do so by the provision of these meals.

*c. Health visitors and teaching centres.* Huddersfield has been the scene of a successful experiment, where the reward of £1 for every baby alive on his first birthday has been given. The value of the work lies, not in the actual money reward given, but in the early notification of the birth and the sending of properly qualified lady health visitors round to the homes of the mothers to teach them about the care of children.

At Somerstown in London, there is now a "Mothers' and Babies' Welcome" where babies are supervised and weighed and inspected at regular intervals, and where the mothers are taught every branch of the care of babies. All this teaching work is of inestimable value, and one would not decry it under any consideration; but the remedy is no remedy, unless it goes down deeper still and removes the causes of ignorance; and so long as we continue to bring up a race of factory hands and not a race of mothers, we must expect ignorance. Even under the best social conditions possible, girls need instruction in domestic and maternal duties; this is but very imperfectly realized as yet, for although it finds expression in the classes held in schools on domestic hygiene, there are not a few people who agree in thinking that teaching in these subjects given to school girls, and mainly abstract in its form, is not of much value. Sir John Gorst, in his book on "The Children of the Nation," has a very amusing story about the views expressed by a young damsel in her examination paper upon the "stummick" and the "bowels, which are a e i o and u, sometimes w and y."

Many young wives go out to work before their first baby comes, from the ennui of a one-roomed home: is it not probable that this is the very time to catch her and train her at such a school as the St. Pancras' "Welcome"? If we do succeed in ameliorating social conditions and reforming our industrial

system, these teaching centres will have a permanent value in this way; they might also train the young girls who, under a better state of things, might go out as domestic helps to poorer mothers with a large family.

*d. Crèches.* These again have an even more limited function than any of the other schemes, although they serve a fairly useful function until we have got to the roots of the whole evil. It is a notorious fact that, in those districts where married women's work is an established thing, the persons to whom the babies are entrusted for minding during the day are almost always old people in receipt of inadequate pensions and outdoor relief, sometimes even they are people of bad character and drinkers. It is to meet this unsatisfactory state of things that crèches have been started, but unless crèches are run with the most minute care they themselves have many disadvantages, and many of the regulations which have been framed with this end in view are most tiresome and unnecessary in many cases: for instance, re-dressing every child on its arrival at the crèche. They are often the means of spreading infectious diseases, and in most cases it is impossible to make provision for fresh air for the children. They must act as an additional inducement to hand-feeding and the mother working.

*e. Crèches in factories* are to be found in some Continental towns; the sole idea which underlies the plan being that the mothers should still be able to suckle their children and carry on their factory work at the same time. This is scarcely an ideal that will appeal to those to whom the vision of the stable at Bethlehem and the home at Nazareth are everything in the world. The plan has been mooted in England, but it has been stated that employers would never stand the additional expense this would entail in their workrooms and factories. It is open to very serious criticisms from the medical standpoint; it has been stated by high authorities that the quality of breast milk suffers if the mother is engaged in factory work, or, in other words, that a woman cannot perform successfully the double duty of suckling her child and earning a wage. Most factory work begins early in the morning, often before daybreak, and it is most injurious to babies to take them out at this hour; moreover, a system of factory crèches would still rob the home of the mother, and that is an evil against which every stand must be made.

*f. Laws regulating Factory Work for Women.* Certain other nations, Germany in particular, have an excellent code of legislation upon this subject; there is not space here to enter into an enumeration and discussion of the salient points, but those who want information can obtain it from a series of penny pamphlets issued by the Women's Industrial Council. The most valuable clauses in the whole code concern a compulsory providential fund to which the mother contributes part of her wages, the employer contributes more, and the State adds a further sum; the whole is drawn at the time of the child's birth, and is used to obviate the necessity of the mother working for some time afterwards; in this way the infant has secured to it the benefit of its mother's care, and the chance of its natural food for some months at any rate. A plan of this kind is needed very much in England, and it is the one remedy which is fundamental in its character. Such legislation would probably raise the whole status of woman's work, whilst it would stop a great deal of the tendency to prefer women's work to men's owing to its cheapness. When we do get such legislation as this, the benefits must be made to start some time before the birth is expected, in order to induce the women to make their condition known as early as possible; it is useless and contrary to a woman's modesty to leave it to an inspector to find out her condition. Three months before lying in and six months afterwards is almost the minimum to be aimed at; the present period of compulsory rest after lying-in (three weeks) is ridiculously small, and the law is frequently evaded; it cannot be otherwise so long as there is no direct inducement for women to stop away from work, and every inducement in the way of wages to urge them to go on.

### FUTURE REMEDIES

It must be realized that this problem of Infant Mortality is in the main an economic problem, and not one of medicine: it has been shown earlier in the pamphlet how immaturity can be traced back to overcrowding and married women's employment; that diarrhoea is dependent through hand-feeding and the absence of the mother from home upon low wages and unemployment; and that even bronchitis and pneumonia originate in overcrowding and the lack of prompt medical attention for those who cannot afford to pay a doctor. With



the economist, therefore, and not with the doctor, the solution rests. As things are at present the problem is being attacked from the wrong end, like so many other social problems; for instance, in the housing question, the true solution does not lie in schemes of municipal dwellings or the provision of model dwellings by charity, but in finding out the causes why wages are so low and rent so high.

In our particular problem there is one thing that stands out clear and striking, a principle to guide us in legislative reform that ought to have been enunciated upon humanitarian grounds alone. It is this—*that every mother's place is in her home, that the married woman's domestic and maternal cares are her contribution to the well-being of the community, and that under no circumstances whatsoever must her labour in factories or occupations be permitted.*

Our hearts should have told us long ago that we ought not to let people live four and five in a room, that it was not right we should lose 120,000 babies in a year, and that it was cruel to allow children to work out of school hours; in other words, that our duty towards our neighbour was to treat him as we should like to be treated ourselves. But we shut our eyes, and stifled our consciences and said "there were economic difficulties in the way" of treating our less fortunate brother as we would he should treat us. Now sociological science has come along to teach us that our hearts were right in more ways than we thought, that overcrowding produces physical deterioration, that letting school-children work makes the percentage of heart disease amongst them to rise, and that a high infant mortality does not only carry off the unfit, but stunts those who survive; it is being gradually brought home to the public mind that physical deterioration and sickness are costing every rate-payer solid cash.

So it is with the mother's place in her home; we should not like our own wives to be factory hands, and now we are beginning to find out that the main peg from which the problem of Infant Mortality hangs is the working mother. The principle, therefore, that has been laid down is right, not only from the humanitarian point of view, but from the scientific standpoint also.

It is both cruel and foolish, however, to hinder the wage-earning of mothers whom necessity drives to work, and it would not be justifiable to press legislation with this end in view. So it seems to be a necessary corollary that the widow and the



wife of the invalid, the convict and the unemployed, must be provided for by some other means than that of declaring them paupers and doling out poor-law relief. It is no very revolutionary doctrine that a mother's work in life is bringing up her children, and that this work is none the less valuable than that of the man who is building houses, or making clothes, or fighting his country's battles. Let us have a scheme of compulsory insurance or State pensions, so that when the paternal income vanishes from any cause a mother need not be under the necessity of going out to work

Any one wishing to join the C.S.U. is asked to communicate with the Hon. Sec., the Rev. J. Carter, Pusey House, Oxford, or the Sec. of the Local Branch, if there be one.

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# THE STATE AND THE FAMILY      =      =      =      =

BY REGINALD BRAY, L.C.C.

AUTHOR OF "THE TOWN CHILD," ETC.

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*Price One Penny*

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# THE STATE AND THE FAMILY

BY

REGINALD BRAY, L.C.C.

*Author of "The Town Child," etc.*

THE hopes of Social Reform are concentrating themselves more and more on the children, who will form the new generation. But those who believe in an extension in this direction of State Legislation are challenged—and challenged all the more emphatically if they hold by the Christian Code of Ethics—to say how they reconcile this extension with their belief in the home and significance of the family.

This challenge must be met ; for, indeed, there is a growing tendency, not confined to any one school of thought, to assume that no act of the State can lighten the burden of parenthood without at the same time impairing the vitality of the home. If, for example, there is talk of using the rates to feed hungry children, the one side asserts that we shall thereby undermine the independence of the family ; while the other, accepting this conclusion without demur, urge that it is better to injure the character of the father than to sacrifice the health of the child. Proposals of a similar kind meet with the same criticism, and receive in reply the same damaging admission. We are apparently caught on the horns of a dilemma ; either certain needs of existence must go unsatisfied, or the family-bond must be loosened and perhaps torn asunder. Now I am anxious to show that there is no call for us to perch on either of these singularly unpleasant horns. I hope to prove, first, that, unless we invoke the aid of the State, we must expect to watch among large sections of the community a steady decay of family life ; and secondly, that not the least of the dangers which menace the sanctity of the home lurks in the unwise advocacy of its most ardent supporters.



## INSTINCT, CHARACTER, PUBLIC OPINION

The strength of the family-relation depends, broadly speaking, on three factors:

1. At the outset parental affection is due to instinct. Man shares this instinct with the brute creation; and, being the oldest instinct, it is also the strongest. All the elemental passions, on which depends the survival of the race, gather round the cradle of the new-born babe. But an instinct, however peremptory, is not a continuing force; it is essentially transitory in character, exists in order to lead to action, and failing to lead to action, speedily disappears. The parental instinct is the motive of parental care; and parental care, in turn, becomes the motive of parental affection. The instinct leads through action to love, and love supplies the new impulse towards further action. But the claims of love are not as imperious as the claims of instinct. Instinct can hardly be gainsaid, but love, though it may suffer long, will not suffer always or suffer everything. It requires some fuel to keep its flame alive, must evoke some response, result in some pleasurable feeling. If it were of the nature of the child to be the invariable cause of unqualified pain to the parent, we cannot imagine that the family-relation would have survived. Similarly, if anywhere it be of the essence of the conditions under which the family is placed that misery predominates, we cannot look for the display of any healthy or vigorous home-life. The pain caused by the presence of children will be greater than the pleasure afforded by their possession. The fierce impulse of instinct will soon expend its force; and the more lasting affection, necessary to the well-being of the family, will either never develop, or, if it has developed, be gradually undermined and ultimately destroyed.

Another element in the life of the family, having much in common with the above, is best discussed in conjunction with it. It may be called the sense of ownership, or the pride of achievement. Whatever we have gained with the sweat of our brow is differently related to us from the possessions which have come to us without labour or suffering, and is prized at a value out of all proportion to its intrinsic merit. This is, in particular, the case with our own children. They stand before us as the embodiment of our years of toil; they are its crown and benediction. In a sense, the value we put

upon a thing is proportionate to the efforts we have expended to make it our own. But here again humanity is hedged in with limitations. The struggle may easily be pushed too far; the physical and mental fatigue may become so intense that all pleasure success can bring is swallowed up. The daily drudgery, carried on to keep the home together, destroys the faculty of enjoyment; and if, in addition, there is the continual menace of complete failure and the continual presence of partial failure, even the pride of achievement is wanting. Some care, some toil, and some sacrifice are necessary to the building up of the home, but they must be limited in amount or the feelings, which should lead to lasting love, will end, if not in active dislike, at any rate in a fretting weariness of the soul.

2. The second factor in the life of a family is the character of the parents. There is no need to labour the point; it is sufficiently obvious that, if in a small self-centred community like the home the rulers are negligent or worthless, the whole must suffer.

3. The remaining factor is public opinion. The value people put upon any institution like the family, and the sacrifices they are prepared to make in its cause, depend on the general estimation in which it is held, and rise and fall with every change of sentiment.

To sum up: We may injure the family (1) by making the home-life too easy: in other words, by robbing it of all call for effort and sacrifice, or by making it too hard; (2) by sapping the good character of the parents; and (3) by presenting the family-relation in so unfavourable a light that we lower its value in popular estimation.

## DIFFERENT KINDS OF FAMILY LIFE

If we desire to confirm the accuracy of this analysis we must examine the different degrees of strength exhibited by the family-relation as found among the various classes of society. In thus assaying the family we must test its value by its fruits; in other words, by the richness and the variety of the phenomena of which the home is the centre. Careful investigation of the subject along these lines and the experience of long residence in a poor part of London have impressed on my mind tolerably definite conclusions. Some of these have been published in an essay contributed to *Studies of Boy Life*,

and others in *The Town Child*. Speaking generally, family-life is weakest, indeed can hardly be said to flourish at all, among the members of the lowest class, comprising the casual worker, the habitual loafer, and the criminal. It leads a starved and precarious existence, sometimes succeeding, but as often failing, in the class immediately above—the class which include the respectable unskilled labourer. It is not till we reach the artisan that we can detect signs of a continuous and healthy family-life. Climbing a step further up the ladder of wealth, we find the class which keeps one servant, or at most two. Here the conditions are the most favourable for the home; the successes are most numerous, the failures most rare. With added increments of wealth and social position a slackening of the relation sets in, and the family must struggle more or less hardly with an environment less friendly to the home. While in the household of the modern plutocrat, so far as it is possible to judge of that exalted personage, the difficulties once more attain a maximum, and the ultimate result, using the family as the touchstone, presents features having much in common with those found among the casual workers. Speaking broadly, and allowing fully for the numerous exceptions that occur, the curve representing the strength of the family-bond touches or drops below the zero line in the case of the lowest section of the community, fluctuates a little above that zero with the unskilled labourer, rises steadily with the artisan, and culminates somewhere among the middle classes. As wealth increases the curve bends downwards, and with the plutocrat approaches again the zero line.

### 1. *The Casual Labourer*

These facts are in entire accord with the results of the preceding analysis. The wreckage of family-life in the case of the casual labourer is due to two causes. The smallness of the earnings and their irregularity rigidly limit the expenditure on rent, and overcrowding is the consequence. The one or two rooms in which the family is housed are not large enough for a home; the members are thrust outside into the street, and visit the tenement only to snatch up fragments of precarious food, or to sleep. The very conditions required to make even possible the struggle for a home are absent; and, if this initial difficulty were surmounted, the demoralising

effect of casual employment has undermined the physical and moral strength such a struggle would demand.

Among the unskilled labourers earning small and regular wages we find character, and, in general, amazingly good character, reaching not infrequently a pitch of patient endurance equalled in no other section of the community. But the struggle is over-burdensome, and the home-life falls to pieces amid the stress and strain of existence. I cannot imagine that any one who, like myself, has watched the daily drudgery could arrive at any other conclusion. For the benefit of those unfamiliar with the details I may, perhaps, be allowed to quote a description taken from my book on the town child :

The routine work typical of innumerable families among the working classes may be epitomised briefly in the following summary. The day begins before the night is well gone. The father leaves early to reach his work and the mother frequently, though not always, rises betimes to warm him a cup of tea before he starts. She then wakes the children, gives them their breakfast, and gets them ready for school. Next the baby must be dressed, the cups and plates washed, the beds made, and the rooms generally tidied up and cleaned. Before this task is finished the midday dinner demands attention, and ere this is ready, the children themselves are home. Into the kitchen they drive, as children will do, with cheery noise and lusty shouts after their morning's confinement, interrupting and worrying the mother until the hour of afternoon school is come. Another period of washing-up supervenes, and the house-work, left incomplete, must be performed. After tea the babel of confusion, inseparable from a number of boys and girls shut up in a small room and provided with scanty means of amusement, renders impossible the enjoyment of undisturbed peace. By-and-by the children must be put to bed and the supper cooked, against the return of her husband. Then recurs a final washing up of crockery, varied with occasional interruptions from those upstairs, who are engaged in animated quarrels instead of going to sleep; and the evening is far advanced before the weary mother is able to seek her couch. Add to this routine, carried on year in year out, the weekly washing-day, the weekly bathing-night, the periodic scrubbing and cleaning of the whole house, and the continual mending and patching and darning; evaluate, in terms of mental wear and tear, the harrassing struggle to make the small means at her disposal cover the rent, provide boots and clothing, and supply the ordinary necessities of existence; interpolate the inevitable accidents of life—days of sickness for herself and for her children, possible weeks of out-of-work for her husband, when the contents of the home trickle slowly away to the pawnshop, the expenses of birth and the expenses of death; sum up the various items in her labour bill, and the aggregate total, representing the demands on the more physical resources of the mother, is incredibly large. If any one cherish a doubt concerning the effect of this continuous strain, let him compare a girl, as she is before marriage, with the same girl as she appears a few years later, when the yoke of motherhood is hung about her neck, and the last rag of scepticism will



be torn from him. The brightness of the complexion is dimmed, the prettiness and dainty refinement gone, the riant joy of living crushed out by the burden of existence. The blight that falls on the promise of girlhood is one of those tragedies which use fails to rob of its ugliness or familiarity to free from its haunting desolation. The weary resignation of old age, and the buoyant happiness of youth touch hands, and there is no intervening period separating the one from the other.

Further, not only is the struggle bitter and continuous, it frequently ends in complete failure. A period of out-of-work, of a sudden illness of the father, crumples up the family and sends it to the Poor Law. Where this calamity is avoided the home-life just drags on, seldom a source of true happiness and often a load of fretting care, borne with that dumb patience which the impossibility of escape is apt to produce.

## 2. *The Skilled Artisan*

With the artisan, while much of the drudgery remains, other influences diminish the evil effects. The anxiety about the necessities of existence is less urgent; the increased income allows of more ample house-room, and amusements indoors and occasional holidays are possible; while the better food renders the mother less unfit for the tasks that fall to her lot. For these and other reasons there is an unmistakable increase in the richness of the home life as we pass from the unskilled labourer to the artisan.

## 3. *The Atmosphere of Homeliness*

With the lower middle classes, keeping a servant, the daily drudgery is transferred in part to others; and with its disappearance the highest point of family-life is reached. There is a peculiar intimacy between parents and children which must be seen to be understood. Any one who has spent a few days in such a household will hardly fail to be conscious of a certain atmosphere of homeliness, found, perhaps, nowhere else. The mother attends to the children and to the more important domestic duties, but the mechanical and more laborious work is performed by the servant. There still remains ample scope for thought and sacrifice, but the soul-killing weariness of prolonged physical toil is gone and the consequent gain difficult to over-estimate. If I were seeking to criticise this type of home, I should say that it sometimes suffers from a hypertrophy of the family tie. It tends to become too self-



centred, too narrow in its sympathies and interests, too restricted in its outlook. It has fashioned for itself an inner place of retreat, a citadel whence it surveys with more or less indifference the doings and the sufferings of the external world. But judged purely from the standpoint of the family, and tested solely by the proportion of successes to failures, the home attains here the highest pitch of excellence. Society seems to have hit the golden mean that lies between easing the parental effort too much and easing it too little.

#### 4. *Vicarious performance of Parental Duty*

But when we reach the class which entrusts its children to nurse and governess and boarding-school, we have passed the golden mean, and the life of the family is again imperilled, not now because the burden of the home is too heavy, but because it tends to become too light. It is of course possible that the removal of many of the worries inseparably associated with the direct management of children may leave room for the performance of higher duties. The parents have leisure to plan out the education and career of their children, or to study and adjust the relations of the small world of the family to the large world of society, when what is lost in one direction will be won back in another. But this does not always happen; and when hired labour is used as a means of increasing the pleasures of the parent, without advancing the interests of others, we have a situation which has much in common with that of a family pauperised by unwise charity. In the first case their own wealth, in the second the wealth of others, tempts them to neglect troublesome tasks, and so to obtain a greater freedom for self-indulgence. The existence of such a society as the Parents' National Educational Union, with its eloquent appeal to the wealthy to devote more personal attention to the education of their children, is sufficient proof that the danger, due to vicarious performance of parental duty, rests on a solid foundation of fact. It would, of course, be ridiculous to suggest that among large sections of this class, family-life is a failure. It would probably be true to say that we should find here the most admirable examples of prominent success. This is, however, because the parents have realized that the home is founded upon sacrifice. Given a sufficiently exalted type of character, every increase of wealth, as affording additional opportunities of expansion, might be

expected to add something to the vitality of the home. But then we cannot count on such exalted types; nor is there any ascertained connection between growth of character and growth of wealth. With growth of wealth comes the possibility of shifting burdens, and to human nature as it is, such a possibility offers a real and serious temptation.

## THE FUNCTION OF THE STATE

Experience and theory are therefore in full agreement. They both teach us that family-life, to be successful, demands from the parents some effort and sacrifice, and flourishes best where the duties are neither too excessive nor too light. We have yet to consider what help the State can give in the realization of this golden mean. I should have liked to have discussed the general question of the State in relation to the families of rich and poor alike; but, as space presses, I must confine myself to the more urgent problem of the State in relation to the families of the working classes. In spite of innumerable variations, they have this in common that, ignoring cases of bad character, where the home-life fails, its failure is due to the burdens of parenthood.

The obvious and, indeed, the only remedy must lie in easing the burden of parenthood. But if the remedy is clear, its method of application is not so simple. There are persons who argue that it is not possible to relieve a parent of an irksome duty without inflicting irreparable injury on his character. They enlarge on the dismal experience of the Poor Law as it was prior to 1834. They might with equal truth have pointed to the demoralizing influence of lax administration at the present time, or to the evil effects of much amiable and even unamiable charity. On the other hand, it is easy to quote cases where the State has invaded the home with consequences altogether beneficial. Few persons are found nowadays bold enough to assert that free education is a canker eating into the heart of family-life. The schools, however, by caring for the children some six hours a day, have lifted a heavy load from the shoulders of the mother; she can attend to the work of the house without distraction, and does, in fact, often view the approach of the holidays with signal dismay. Nor is it usual to hear complaints that the sanitary regulations must be accounted a disastrous failure, because they have lessened the bitterness

of the parents' struggle against the burden of chronic ill-health, or the ravages of disease. Finally, I have never met with an individualist who has regarded the visit of the dustman's cart as a sinister influence which, while it lightened the toil of the home by removing its rubbish without labour, carried away at the same time sundry frayed fragments of family affection and family independence.

### THE RISK AND THE BENEFIT

How shall we find our way out of this confusion? Why is the action of the State, in its effort to lighten the burden of parenthood, sometimes beneficial and sometimes disastrous? Why to the family is the visit of the dustman's cart as a visit from the guardian angel of the home, and why are the wheels of the Poor Law as the wheels of the car of Juggernaut? The answer is so amazingly simple that one can only wonder that it has generally escaped notice. In the first case, the State treats all alike; in the second it makes distinctions. The dustman's cart visits every house; it does not stop at a man's door because he is poor, or idle, or dissolute. If as a preliminary to that visit the man were asked to unburden his innermost soul and to submit to a harassing inquiry; if, further, he were compelled to acquiesce in the general disapproval of his neighbours, while the State, to mark its displeasure, robbed him of his vote; then, indeed, the appearance of the cart would be fraught with evil, and the dustman might well be supposed to cry "Bring out the dead and dying remnants of your home."

To perform a man's duty in his stead because he is negligent or incapable—in other words, because he is different from his neighbours—does undoubtedly involve risk of injury to his character. For under these circumstances the receipt of assistance is regarded as a badge of inferiority; and a man cannot wear that badge for long without becoming actually inferior. Further, when the State begins to make distinctions, either it verifies the fact of the distinction, or it does not. In the first case it treats a man as a liar until it has proved him to speak the truth—at best a degrading process; in the second it encourages a pretty ingenuity in the art of deceit. Follow which course it will, this method of "picking and choosing" cannot leave unimpaired a man's sense of independence. The recognition of this fact has given rise to a statement frequently

made by labour leaders, and very puzzling to kindly philanthropists: "We don't want your charity; we want the opportunity to do without it."

### THE TRUE METHOD OF STATE HELP

The method of "picking and choosing" is essentially vicious; just so far as its severity is relaxed in application, just so far is the effort of the State to lighten the burden of the parent attended with good results. It is possible to give an actual example, where the process of relaxation and the corresponding effect can be watched in course of transformation. If a respectable artisan falls out of work he will suffer the most unimaginable pains before he will resort to the Poor Law; and when he does go he is for the future a changed man. If during a time of distress his child develops measles he will call in, though with some hesitation, the parish doctor. The receipt of medical relief is attended with fewer disabilities; in consequence the reluctance and the accompanying injury to character are correspondingly less. If, however, even in the hey-day of his largest earnings, his child is smitten with diphtheria, he will, without a moment's delay, send the child to the fever hospital, throwing on the rates all the cost of the illness, and at the same time retaining unimpaired his sense of independence. In each of these cases the injury to character varies directly with the degree of severity with which the method of "picking and choosing" is enforced.

It is surely the maddest of mad delusions to imagine that the mere fact of lightening the burden of the family is in itself an evil; all depends on the way in which this relief is given. Among the most arduous duties of the parent is the supply of boots for his children. Now let us suppose that, instead of using my pen to write a dreary essay, I set my brains to work and invent a patent extensible boot made of indestructible material. A child will then need but one pair of boots during the course of his existence. In a moment I shall have banished from the outlook of the parent that dreary vista of innumerable boots to be provided which now looms so large in his imagination as he ponders over his meagre earnings. I shall have relieved the parent of a duty not by performing it but by rendering its performance unnecessary. Is not my extensible boot a symbol of what we may hope for from the advance of science and civilization? The number and



the character of the duties which fall on a parent depend on the nature of the environment, and the environment in turn on the progress of knowledge and the progress of government. We may lighten the burden of a duty by a new invention or by a new municipal undertaking; and so long as no distinction of persons is involved, the effect in each case is the same. As a matter of fact the small measure of general amelioration which has crept into our towns is due to an enlargement of the sphere of the State. Baths and wash-houses, drains and dustmen's carts, free parks and free bridges, free vaccination and free fever hospitals, free libraries, free museums, free schools—these extensions of government mark but the beginning of a new era to which we may look with confidence so long as its benefits are offered to all. To give a thing to a man because he is poor is the way of the past and is wrong; to give a thing to a man because he is a citizen is the way of the future and is right.

It is also necessary to remember that this lightening of the burden of the family will strengthen the home life not only by removing the drudgery and by enlarging the opportunities of happiness, but also by exerting a potent influence for good on the character of the parents. When we make a duty easier to perform we increase the probabilities of its performance. Every man is capable of some effort, but no man is capable of every effort. If, therefore, we prescribe tasks within a man's capacity they will be accomplished; and the fact of success will add to his self-confidence and consequently to his ability to undertake more difficult duties. If, however, we begin with impossible demands we shall court inevitable failure and all that failure means. There is a momentum of failure and there is a momentum of success; and it is this momentum of success that the State can encourage by giving the first impulse in the right direction.

### A DISQUIETING TENDENCY

There remains for consideration the last factor in the well-being of the family—the effect of public opinion. No institution can survive, or survive with unimpaired vigour, if it is seen to stand between the people and the people's hopes. Now the family is being continually presented in this unfavourable light by its most ardent supporters. As a consequence a growing section of the working classes is



beginning to criticise and decry the value of the family. This disquieting tendency is not due to the acceptance of any abstract political opinion—the British working man hates abstract truths. He attacks the family not because he thinks its continuance mars “the solidarity of the commonwealth,” but because he is being incessantly told that its preservation can only be secured provided he is willing to sacrifice many of his dearest wishes; and he is not prepared to pay the price. He knows and can understand the value of free meals and old age pensions: and when he is informed by persons of education that the bestowal of these benefits would injure the family he accepts the conclusion, paying that uncritical and dangerous respect to education habitual among his class. But the conclusion does not frighten him, and he goes on to say, “Very well, why not injure the family?” In place of a concrete good he can appreciate, the individualist offers him an abstract notion which has for him no meaning and can satisfy no desire.

### CONCLUSION

The individualist should try to understand how different is the effect of his reasoning when it is transported from the cold seclusion of the study and brought into the tumultuous realities of the ghetto. It cannot be an altogether pleasant task for him to use the pain of youth as an instrument in the moral correction of negligent parents, or the failing weakness of age as a means of coercing disloyal children. But at least to him the victims of his moral ardour are unsubstantial forms, represented by abstract numbers; and in that strangely limited state of our imagination abstract numbers never seem to suffer very much. The working man reads the argument of the philosopher and the abstract numbers take human shape. He thinks of some ill-nourished child, perhaps his own, a child young in years, but old in its familiarity with want; or he sees some aged man, perhaps his own father, thrust into the workhouse because there is no room for him in the home, and pictures him one of those pathetic shrunken figures, sitting forlorn, in that vast building and mutely pondering over the hardness of the world. It is not phantasy that conjures up these scenes, put the brutal facts of his daily experience. We must not, therefore, wonder that, when he is told that the tired child and the tired old man are the victims that must be

offered before the shrine of the family, he begins to doubt the righteousness of this continuous sacrifice. If this tendency to criticise and to condemn the family spreads, as it is now spreading under the unthinking rhetoric of the individualist, the family-life of the nation will be slowly undermined and eventually destroyed. We may, perhaps, hope that a clearer insight into the future will remove these narrow prejudices of the past ; but it will be all in keeping with the ironies of history if the most ardent advocates of the home prove in the end responsible for its downfall.

Any one wishing to join the C.S.U. is asked to communicate with the Hon. Sec., the Rev. J. Carter, Pusey House, Oxford, or the Secretary of the Local Branch, if there be one.

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# BOY-WORK AND UNEMPLOYMENT

BY THE REV. SPENCER J. GIBB

AUTHOR OF "THE PROBLEM OF BOY-WORK"

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*Price One Penny*

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3. To present Christ in practical life as the living Master and King, the enemy of wrong and selfishness, the power of righteousness and love.



# BOY-WORK AND UNEMPLOYMENT

BY

THE REV. SPENCER J. GIBB

*Author of "The Problem of Boy-Work"*

"There is no subject as to which we have received so much and such conclusive evidence as upon the extent to which thousands of boys, from lack of any sort of training for industrial occupations, grow up, almost inevitably, so as to become chronically unemployed or under-employed, and presently to recruit the ranks of the unemployable."—*Minority Report of the Royal Commission on the Poor Laws.*

## I

### THE FACTS

AN enormous amount of the routine work of the world in its humbler forms is done by boys between the ages of thirteen and nineteen. More than two hundred thousand boys leave the Elementary Schools in England and Wales each year, and embark on the working world. Released from school, a boy has no difficulty in finding employment. He seeks it for the most part without guidance, and with little care. He seldom has a plan in view, or takes the future into account. If his wages enable him to add a trifle to the family exchequer, his parents are satisfied, and he is content. Let any one, especially if he is a town dweller, notice for a single day the boys who, directly or indirectly, minister to him, and he will form some conception of the extent of boy-work, and some conception, too, of its dominant characteristics. His morning paper will, perhaps, be left at his door by a boy who is still at school, and who, when his round is completed, will race off to be in time for nine o'clock. His morning milk may be brought by a boy in similar condition. Later, a boy employed full-time will deliver his groceries and his butcher's meat. Boyish handwriting greets him on the covers of his business letters; and if he rings up a client on the telephone, a boy's treble

answers him. Boys deliver his telegrams. As he goes to lunch, newsboys are already selling an early edition of the evening paper. The door of his favourite restaurant may be opened to him by a boy, brave in superfluous buttons; and if he adjourns to the billiard-room after lunch, a boy is his "marker." His golf-caddie at the links may be a boy. When he travels, boy-voices greet him at every station, crying papers in the dialect of each county through which he passes. There is no escape from the activities of the boy-worker.

This all-pervading fact of boy-labour is a relatively new phenomenon of industrial life; and it involves a social problem to which at last we begin to awake. It is a problem essentially economic; but, like all economic problems, touching the roots of character.

### THE CLASSIFICATION OF BOY-WORK

As we try to disentangle the elements of boy-labour in our towns, it becomes apparent that its classification is ultimately dependent upon the future to which it leads: its good or bad conditions, and its moral influence, correspond broadly with its promising or unpromising career. From this point of view it may be divided into three classes, which, however, are not sharply distinguished, but overlap:—

1. "Blind-alley" boy-work, to which there is no future;
2. Boy-work in which the future is doubtful;
3. Probationary boy-work—the bottom rung of the ladder, whose top rests in the skilled and progressive work of manhood.

The problem is, in different ways, present in each of these classes of work; and an examination of them will give us the whole range of facts which make up the position.

#### *"Blind-Alley" Boy-Work*

1. The constant quality in the widely different conditions of "blind-alley" boy-work is the entire absence of prospect. The boy enters a *cul-de-sac* from the other end of which there is no outlet. The work, beginning with the earliest years of boyhood, ends with its later years, at an age when it is difficult, or sometimes impossible, to embark on skilled labour; and, affording no training, involves wanton waste of years which cannot be retrieved. It is an irrelevant episode in the tale of the boy's life. It sets him halting and belated—a chronic

economic cripple—on the road that leads to adult unemployment and unemployability. Cheap, convenient, and obtainable for the asking, “blind-alley” boy-work is bewildering in the variety of its forms. Engaging boys from the best homes of skilled labour, and boys from the poorest and most helpless, it socially degrades the one, and increases the degradation of the other. It is typically represented, in its higher forms, by the work of messengers, and, in its lowest, by the life of the street-seller.

### *Messengers*

The work of messengers is, of course, in itself, entirely without prospect. Thousands of boys are employed as Postal Telegraph Messengers, and discharged by hundreds a year at the age of sixteen, or sixteen and a half. Half of the vacancies for postmen are reserved for ex-soldiers and ex-Navy men; the competitive appointments, some of which are reserved for competition among Post Office employés, are rarely, on account of the examination requirements, obtainable by telegraph boys, and of other appointments there is not a sufficient number to provide for the future of the messengers. There is, unfortunately, abundance of evidence to prove that the boys discharged, at a singularly difficult age, are disabled in their search for progressive work. They find it with difficulty, if at all; and I have myself knowledge of several cases in which boys, the sons of skilled artisans, have drifted into unskilled and underpaid labour in consequence.<sup>1</sup> It should in justice be added, both that the parents of candidates are duly warned that the work is liable to end at the age of sixteen, and also that the Post Office authorities are not blind to the evils involved, though they do not appear as yet to have found a way to cope with them.

Messengers employed by the various Telegraph and Cable Companies, Newsagencies, and Messenger Companies find themselves in an even more precarious position at adolescence than their Post Office colleagues. London is the scene of this work at its height; and the greater difficulty in London than in most large provincial towns of entering skilled trades tends to make the leaving age of messengers higher, and the difficulty of after-employment correspondingly greater than in the provinces. The high wages paid for this kind of work form

<sup>1</sup> See *Report by Mr. Cyril Jackson on Boy-Labour* presented to the Royal Commission on the Poor Laws, 1909 [cd. 4632]. Appendix I. C.

a powerful inducement to prefer it to the early and relatively ill-paid work of skilled trades.

### *Miscellaneous "Blind-Alley" Occupations*

Of the lower types of "blind-alley" work, such as street-trading, not much need here be said, because its evils are plain to see. The moral danger of street-selling has been recognized to the full; and statutory powers to regulate it lie, by the Employment of Children Act, 1903, with the local Authorities, and have been used with good effect, conspicuously in Manchester and Liverpool.

Between these two extremes—the uniformed messenger at the top, and the street-seller at the bottom, of the scale of irregular work—is a motley multitude of boy-workers who serve in nondescript ways—in distributing handbills, or parceling tea, or labelling bottles, or acting as carter's boy, or "nipper," or who sell newspapers or refreshments on station platforms, or stand to open the doors of shops, or run errands, or, as the phrase goes, "make themselves generally useful"; and then find that their several paths converge at the same point of unfitness and unemployment.

## WORK OF DOUBTFUL PROSPECT

### *Shop Errand-Boys*

2. The second class of boy-work is that in which the prospects are doubtful. The first and second classes overlap; and it is difficult to say of much of the work to which class it should be assigned. Take, as typical, the work of boys in connection with shops. Errand-boys are most largely employed in the shops of the providing trades—the shops of grocers, butchers, and the like. An inquiry was recently made into the prospects of the boys employed in Manchester in connection with the retail grocery business. Most of the larger employers who were consulted confessed that the boys who came to them seldom remained; or, if they did so, it was only as porters or vanmen—errand-boys of a larger growth. But one large employer had a different tale to tell. He said that practically all his branch managers and assistants—he had many shops in and around Manchester—had begun with him as boys. He, personally, kept a record of the career of his employés, and was careful that the boys, if they were

willing and had aptitude, should be given a chance of promotion. This is exceptional; but it shows that much of the work which is usually without prospect, might, with care, be made probationary.

A good deal of work for smaller shopkeepers is done by schoolboys between and after school hours. They are sometimes excessively overworked in respect both of the kind of work assigned to them, and of the hours of its continuance. The Inter-Departmental Committee on the Employment of School Children, found that probably as many as 100,000 schoolboys are employed in this way, and they had evidence of serious injury caused by the carrying of excessive weights.<sup>1</sup> In districts where there is a dominant industry it is not unusual for boys to engage in shop-work for a time on leaving school until they are of age to enter the local factory or works, or until an opening presents itself. Notwithstanding, there appears to be much economic disablement as a result of the work of shop errand-boys. The conditions of the life are unsettling. The long hours, the necessity of working when others are at play, and the often very severe labour of burden-bearing and walking in all weathers, disgust the boys with their lot, and prevent them from testing its possibilities; but the chances are that the work they seek instead, if less arduous, is not more promising. Their first unsuccessful step has started them on an aimless course.

What is true of the work of errand-boys engaged in fetching and carrying for the providing trades, is true, in varying and indefinable degrees, of boys employed inside shops of other sorts. The employment of "pages" or "door-boys" has increased in recent years with the increase of the manner of competitive advertisement expressed in costly establishments and luxurious accessories: and, though in some cases vague prospects are held out, they are seldom realized. The occupation itself, with its weary hours of idle standing, is mentally and physically hurtful.

### *Office-Boys*

In the "doubtful" class must also be placed some kinds of work done by boys in offices and warehouses. In every considerable town, offices are to be found in which the whole of the business is done by the master himself, who has often to be

<sup>1</sup> *Report of the Inter-Departmental Committee on the Employment of School Children*, p. 13.



absent. The office-boy, who constitutes the entire staff, is meanwhile left in charge. He has probably nothing to do; and spends his time in mischievous expeditions along the corridor, in perilous flights down the hand-rail of the stairs, or in reading fiction of a highly blood-thirsty character. For this "work" he is often paid at a considerably higher rate than the wages he would command in a larger office, or in another occupation. Promotion is obviously impossible in the office in which he is engaged, and he learns nothing that will help him in the future. Employment in offices of this kind is one of the most unsatisfactory forms of boy-work: and its danger is the more subtle on account of the vague hopes it raises in the mind of the fond mother that the boy may be on his way, through the favour of his master, to a partnership, and ultimately, perhaps, to the throne of a merchant prince. For, as she says, "there is no knowing what might happen."

Doubtful, too, are the prospects of boys employed in warehouses to assist in packing and to carry out goods; and the fact that this work calls for strength, often makes it a later step in the career of lads who have already tried, without success, other kinds of employment. And here, again, the circumstance that warehouse work normally offers a career, makes the snare of its fugitive occupations more insidious.

### PROBATIONARY WORK

3. The familiar difficulties and dangers which we have learned to associate with "blind-alley" occupations appear in work which in kind is probationary. The boy in works or factory, or the boy in one of the skilled trades, may become economically unfit, as well as the boy whose work cannot extend beyond the years of earliest youth. This results partly from the fact that a large factory or workshop calls into being a number of casual jobs, performed by boys, which are just as completely unrelated to skilled work as is the work of the messenger or the errand-boy: but chiefly it comes about through minute specialization and, what is closely related with it, the decay of apprenticeship. Minute sub-division of labour produces, not a craftsman, but a mechanical expert in one tiny department; and the worker's very aptitude becomes his fetter, binding him ever more closely to the particular branch of industry in which that aptitude is useful, or even to an individual firm whose peculiar needs it serves. The product of the specialized worker

is useless except in relation with other parts which he is powerless to produce. Alone, he is without economic value: he becomes, not a machine, but part of a machine. The unvarying persistence in one mechanical process, developing a wonderful limited adroitness, produces a living automaton, and interest is paralysed. "My occupation," writes a young man employed in an engineering works in Manchester, "consists in making what are called cores. These the moulders place in different parts of their moulds, and so form various cavities. I find it very tedious at times, on account of having the same class of work to do day after day. . . . We are like a human machine, working on day after day in our monotonous task. . . . We know we are making work for cotton machines, but what part of the machine any particular piece of work we happen to be making belongs to we do not know."<sup>1</sup>

Thus it is that the characteristic dangers of irregular work invade the workshop and the factory. The training of a boy is a matter of uncertainty; to acquire a thorough mastery of his trade, or even to see all its departments in operation, would involve movement from one shop to another. Herein lies the secret of the breakdown of the old sound system of apprenticeship. It is not only that the unhurried probation by which a boy was wont to win his way into the ranks of skilled labour is out of keeping with modern haste and impatience of careful work; but, more, that specialization has made the complete training of the apprentice, at any rate in most trades, practically impossible. Indentured apprenticeship hardly survives; and, when it does, is the method only by which "young gentlemen" seek to acquire a knowledge of practical work which may fit them to become captains of industry. The son of a working man who enters a workshop as a "learner" is at the mercy of the foreman under whom he may be placed, and his learning is conditioned by the department into which accident leads him. As in Mr. Squeers's lessons in "practical philosophy," the pupils are soon made of use, and the boy, untaught, takes the place of a labouring man.

This is true of the work done in machine workshops or factories; and the same tendency is rapidly altering the conditions of handicrafts, in which, however, apprenticeship, still

<sup>1</sup> Quoted in *Report on the Education and Early Employment of Lancashire Children*, by Messrs. Campagnac and Russell; *Special Reports on Educational Subjects*, supplement to Vol. viii, 1903.

lives. Over them, too, the shadow hangs. The displacement of hand by machine labour; the absorption of smaller by larger firms, and the total extinction of some of the minuter crafts, make apprenticeship an uncertain path to independence, if, indeed, the path still remains open.

There is, in spite of these facts, a strong reaction in favour of manual work; and I venture to suggest that this reaction in its extremes is mistaken. It shows itself prominently in disparagement of clerical work as an opening for boys. Such disparagement, in a commercial nation, is quite obviously unreasonable. Office work must be done, and it is done at present on methods more scientific, thorough, and intelligent than ever before. Obviously, there are boys fitted to succeed in offices who would fail in manual work; and the prospects of a boy who enters the office of a good commercial or professional firm are at least as promising as those of a boy who, under present conditions, enters a factory or embarks upon handicraft. The vulgar conception that the work of the clerk is more "genteel" than that of the mechanic is, of course, absurd enough: but not wiser is the opposite mistake of seeing "dignity" only in the labour of the hand.

### DANGER OF BOY-WORK

It has become unnecessary to prove that the economic danger—the danger of future unemployment and unemployability—which we have seen to shadow boy-work in all its forms, is not visionary, but real. The sadly large numbers of youths and young men conspicuous among the unemployed—physically fit, but industrially helpless—the testimony of Distress Committees in all parts of the country, and, at last, the evidence of the Royal Commission on the Poor Laws, have opened our eyes to the fact that the reckless waste of young lives—the mad gamble with the costly years of boyhood—which boy-labour involves, is a process by which we manufacture year by year ever more hopeless burdens of unemployment.

#### *Influence of Boy-Work on Character*

And this economic evil is fed and strengthened by the influence inevitably exercised upon character by casual work in boyhood. It develops the boy's natural instability; it does nothing to introduce into his life that steady pursuit of purpose which dignifies and transfigures drudgery. It lowers his whole

conception of work, its aims and reward. The fibres of his character are unstrung: he becomes, if not actually, yet potentially, a loafer. And, as his life is without purpose, it is without unity. His school-life was an episode; his work is an episode, or a series of episodes; his home-life, his religion are episodes. He lives in compartments. His life acquires, not only the aimlessness, but also the lack of control, of a thing that drifts. To the natural boy, with his abounding life, and his innate love of freedom, the imprisonment of early work is ever chafing. If the work has something in it to grip his imagination, stir his interest, set him planning and dreaming, the tedium is lost in hope. But to arouse interest and imagination, there must be a *vista*; and the most prominent fact of casual boy-work is that there is no vista. There is nothing into which the boy's thought may project itself. In the long run, even with the brightest, the character must be weakened or numbed, as the daily life grinds on, like skidding wheels, revolving without advance.

## II

### TOWARDS REFORM

#### *Voluntary Effort*

Voluntary social effort has, within the last few years, been feeling its way with ever greater certainty to the reform of boy-labour. The Apprenticeship and Skilled Employment Association in London,<sup>1</sup> and the local Committees affiliated with it in London and the Provinces, are doing valuable pioneer work. The Committees collect industrial information, find suitable openings for boys and girls who apply to them, and act as intermediaries between employers and employed.

Trade Schools—such as the Technical Day School for Boys at the Borough Technical Institute, the Stanley Technical Trade Schools, the Day Preparatory Trade School for Boys at the Cockburn High School, Leeds, and the Pre-Apprenticeship Day School at the Bootle Technical School, Liverpool, represent another, and a rather more official, experiment on similar lines. The aim of all these Schools, carried out in ways differing in detail, is to equip boys to take their place in skilled trades; and, by keeping in touch

<sup>1</sup> 55 Denison House, Vauxhall Bridge Road, S.W. Sec., Miss Dalglish.



with local employers of labour, to launch them on suitable employment.<sup>1</sup>

### STATE CONTROL OF BOY-WORK

But all such voluntary effort must necessarily fail in its full effect unless it receives the sanction and authority of the State. The ultimate remedy seems to lie in the National organization of juvenile work as a whole from the moment of leaving school, with the Elementary School as the centre, and under the direction of the Education Authority. This suggestion involves no new principle. It is but the logical outcome of the principle upon which National Education is based. We have decreed that every child shall be educated. The principle carries us further than the school, and than the years of schooling. The State, which claims control over the child up to a certain age, in order that he may be educated, must claim the extension of that control to a later age, in order that he may reap the fruits of his education. At present, direction ceases just when it is most needed. At the critical moment of transition from school to work the State abruptly relinquishes its interest in the child over whose earliest years it has claimed control. The whole machinery of National Education spends its energy in partially fashioning the material committed to it, and then casts it forth to waste. It is from these considerations that the ideal emerges: the State Control, by direction and supervision, of the earliest working years; and, seeing that local industrial conditions differ very widely, State Control and Supervision carried out, in divers ways, by the Local Authorities.

By what means should this ideal be practically pursued?

#### *Reform of Elementary Education*

1. There is, I think, a consensus of opinion that Elementary Education needs to be reformed in such manner as to bring it into more intimate correspondence with practical life. Of this feeling the development of manual training in the schools is an outcome. There is needed an extension to all subjects of the principle which prompts this development. The instruments of Education—the subjects of instruction—should, in view of the limited time at disposal, be reduced; effort concentrated on

<sup>1</sup> For a full account of these, and other, Trade Schools, see Prof. Sadler's *Continuation Schools in England and Elsewhere*, Chapters xiii and xiv, pp. 401, ff.



a few only, and these taught in such a manner as to produce that agility of mind and command of resource which Mr. Mosely noticed as the most striking feature of Education in the United States of America.<sup>1</sup>

For the end of Education, as Dr. Thring defined it, is "to produce power in a man's self": and it is exactly here that our Elementary schooling, with its dependence upon memorized instruction and rule of thumb, has hitherto failed.

We need the Schools, in short, to prepare for life, though not necessarily, in the narrow sense, for livelihood; and such reform will doubtless be easier to carry out when boys and girls are retained at school until an age at which they are better able to respond to education in its true sense. Almost all educational and social reformers are agreed as to the immediate need to raise the minimum age of school exemption; and the Royal Commission on the Poor Laws embody the proposals of many expert witnesses when they recommend that boys should be kept at school until the age of fifteen, exemption below that age being granted only to those who leave to learn a skilled trade.<sup>2</sup>

### *School Supervision*

2. But not even at the later age of fifteen should the boys be suffered to pass beyond the control of the School, to embark without chart or compass amid the shoals and rocks of the channel through which they sail into the open sea of adult industrial life. *School Supervision* should be extended beyond the age of *School Exemption*, until sixteen, as the Royal Commission on the Poor Laws recommends; or, one would be inclined to say, until a year later.

### *School Labour Registries*

The machinery of this Supervision might be Labour Registries, established either in connection with each school, or, better, in connection with a group of adjacent schools. The work of the Registries would be advisory, selective, and controlling. The basis of their work would be a systematic record, kept by the Schoolmaster, of the aptitude and disposition of each pupil and a medical report from the School Doctor of his health and physique. As the age of school-exemption approached, the

<sup>1</sup> *Reports of the Mosely Education Commission to the United States of America*, p. 13, etc.

<sup>2</sup> *Majority Report*, Part VI, Ch. 4, § 549.

boy's name would be entered on the books of the Registry, and he would be interviewed by one of the Committee of Management. He would be encouraged to speak freely of his tastes and wishes, and would be advised generally as to the *kind* of work in which he would be likely to be most successful. His parents would be visited, and advice offered to them concerning the future of their boy. Employers of labour in the vicinity would be invited to apply to the Registry when in need of boys; and they would learn that, due care being taken to recommend boys most suitable for any particular opening, it was to their interest to do so. When the time came for the boy to leave school, the Registry would try to place him in fitting and promising employment; and he would not be granted a certificate of exemption save to go to work *approved* (not necessarily *found*) by the Registry. This need not mean, however, that a boy would never be allowed to engage upon work without prospect; but, if he did, Supervision would guard against the danger of his remaining in it to the disablement of his future career. School Supervision would be retained over the boy in his earliest working years—say until the age of seventeen. Leaving his work for any cause, he would apply to the Registry for a fresh start; or, dissatisfied with the conditions of his work, or finding it unsuitable, he would apply to the Registry for advice. The School Registries, while authoritative and official, should make full use of voluntary social service. The Committees, therefore, might well be composed largely of voluntary workers, supplementing the work of paid officials.

### *Continuation Schools and Regulation of Working Hours*

3. The continuation of a boy's education after he has gone to work, obviously necessary as it is, is difficult, or even impossible, to carry out with efficiency and without hardship under existing conditions. The Evening Continuation School is constantly hampered by the circumstances under which it works, and, surprisingly good as its results often are in spite of all difficulties, it is at best a temporary expedient. There are forms of boy-work which are exceedingly severe. A serious overdraft is taken by them on the strength of a growing lad; and if, at the moment, his recuperative powers conceal the evil, the evil is none the less fatally present. It would be often cruel, and often useless, to compel a boy, after a hard day's work, to attend school in the evening. The uncertainty of hours, too, in many kinds of boy-work would make attendance irregular.

Boys in offices and warehouses are worked overtime to an unscrupulous extent; and the hours of shop-boys are often late. In most occupations, in fact, save those which are stringently controlled by legislation, the hours of boy-workers are uncertain.

The conclusion would seem to be, therefore, that we need further legislative control of the hours of juvenile labour, and some provision by which boys may be enabled to attend Continuation Classes, during the earliest years of their working life, not in the evening, when their faculties are jaded, but in the best hours of the day. Professor Sadler mentions as one of the conclusions to which "everywhere thought is moving," that "the law should place all employers . . . under statutory obligation to enable young persons of less than seventeen years of age who are in their employment to attend courses of technical instruction for four hours a week at times of day when the pupils are not too tired to profit by the teaching"<sup>1</sup>; and this might perhaps pave the way for such a drastic reform as that proposed by the *Minority Report* of the Poor Law Commission, that the work of all youths under eighteen should be restricted to 30 hours per week; that the employer should be obliged to see that the boy had his name on the roll of "some suitable public institute giving physical training and technical education"; and that boys should be compelled to attend such an institution for at least 30 hours a week.<sup>2</sup>

The Legislation at present regulating juvenile work has grown gradually, and to meet particular needs, and is in consequence unbalanced; while certain occupations are hedged round with statutory regulations, others are entirely without legal control. It is to be hoped that the result of the evidence which the Royal Commission has brought to light touching boy-work will be the consolidation into a single Act of the separate measures which now govern particular occupations, their extension to include the whole field of youthful labour, and the strengthening of enactments which are inadequate to the needs of the industrial situation.

### DIFFICULTIES

Many practical difficulties which are at once suggested in the State direction and control of early work would solve them-

<sup>1</sup> *Continuation Schools in England and Elsewhere*, p. 19.

<sup>2</sup> *Minority Report*, Ch. V (B) (I).

selves. Necessary boy-work—such as that of messengers—could be done without endangering the future; and the frivolous multiplication of “blind-alley” work would be checked.

We have already seen that there is work which, while generally without prospect, can be made probationary by the exercise of a little care. Employers whose work is without prospect have no difficulty in finding boys to do it; and, on the other hand, employers whose work offers prospect do not find it easier on that account to fill their vacancies. The requirements of the School Registry would compel the one to set his work in order, and encourage the other to develop the possibilities of the work he offers. As the scope of promising work was thus extended, the difficulty of finding openings for the boys would diminish. The existence of an authoritative body taking care for the first step of their sons, with a heedful eye to the future, would educate parents to a better appreciation of the importance of the transition from school to work; and the formidable stumbling-block of indifference which now obstructs the path of reform would be done away.

### THE BOY HIMSELF

Measure the urgency of the problem of boy-work, finally, by looking at the boy whose life it threatens.

It does not threaten alone the boy who is already crippled for the race of life by the poverty of his home, or the fault of his upbringing; and it is no answer to the problem to point to a boy here and there who, gifted with unusual resource, or favoured by happy accident, prevails in spite of the profitless labour of his early days. The problem centres in the average working boy; and the average working boy embodies, physically, mentally and morally, something of what is soundest and sanest in national life. He comes from the ranks of the sturdy and fit. He is the son of a good home, a stranger alike to waste and want. His character, like his body, is firm-knit by simple living and the daily discipline of a frugal carefulness that does not pinch. Strong and sound, taking with a frolic welcome what the day brings forth, he carries resources, unspoiled as yet, of determination, endurance, keenness and common sense. It is such living wealth as this that we squander for the convenience of a day in the labour that is so cheap, and costs so dear.

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The author of this Pamphlet has drawn up a paper of Advice to Boys on the choice of work, of part of which the following is a copy. He will be glad to send copies to any who may wish to distribute them, on receipt of a stamped envelope. Address:—Rev. SPENCER J. GIBB, Reddish, near Stockport.

## SOME THINGS FOR A BOY TO THINK OF IN CHOOSING WORK

- 1.—Think of the **FUTURE**. Ask, "Will this work lead me to anything; or will it end when I am sixteen or seventeen?"
- 2.—If you think of entering a **TRADE**, ask to what position it will be likely to lead when you are a man: will you be learning the whole trade, or only a part of it?
- 3.—If you think of entering a **WORKS**, you will probably do better at first, and learn more, in a **SMALL** works than in a large one.
- 4.—If you think of going into an **OFFICE**, choose one where there is a good staff of clerks, so that you may have a chance of promotion.
- 5.—If you think of going as an **ERRAND BOY IN A SHOP**, find out first if you will be taught anything of the business, so that afterwards you may hope to manage a shop of the same kind yourself.
- 6.—If you go as **MESSENGER** or **ERRAND BOY**, or any work that is **ONLY** done by boys, take care that you do not stay at it till you are too old to do something else, unless you are sure that you will be kept on later where you are.
- 7.—Think what kind of work you are best fitted for, and would like best.
- 8.—If you are already at work, and it does not suit you, or does not seem to lead to anything, stick at it until you get



something really better, and choose your NEXT work VERY CAREFULLY. DO NOT WANDER AIMLESSLY FROM ONE WORK TO ANOTHER.

- 9.—Take a real interest in whatever work you do. Do not get discontented with little things. You will find nothing perfect. Do not throw up your work, unless you are sure of something better, with better prospects.



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# THE MORAL RIGHT OF THE STATE TO CONTROL CAPITAL =

BY THE REV. CANON HENRY  
SCOTT HOLLAND, D.LITT. =

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3. To present Christ in practical life as the living Master and King, the enemy of wrong and selfishness, the power of righteousness and love.



# THE MORAL RIGHT OF THE STATE TO CONTROL CAPITAL

BY THE

REV. CANON H. SCOTT HOLLAND, D.LITT.

## WHY THE STATE IS ULTIMATELY RESPONSIBLE.

THE authority of Public Law over Capital springs out of the sheer necessities involved in the facts. It is its own concern. For instance, every movement of Capital is seen to be an act of the whole Industrial Community. It is impossible to fix the limits which determine either its origin, or its possibility, or its effects.

We have only to recall the concurrence of forces which is assumed by the Capitalist at his work in order to see how subtle and intricate and innumerable are the threads which knit his activity up into the entire social fabric. His power to act is supplied to him by an inexhaustible Organization which is for ever labouring to endow him with infinite resources and with measureless capacity to put them to use. He arrives at his office in the morning to find that swarms upon swarms of unknown men have been toiling through the night simply that he may be in complete possession of all the information that he needs for his next move. Wires have been pulsating with the news that he requires while he slept. From all over the face of the earth intelligence has been pouring in for his benefit. Printing-machines have clanged all night to get the material sorted and distributed, summarized, arranged, so that in a moment his eye may take in, at a glance, the movements of the world's markets and the slightest changes in its financial equilibrium. A host of men and boys are up betimes to hold it ready for him to have at his hand at whatever moment he chooses. Hundreds more are waiting to give immediate effect, through wire, and Post Office, and telephone, to any venture that he wishes to make. He has but to touch a button or two,

and the entire State machinery, ever at his direct disposal, is set moving in his active service. The activity by which he accumulates wealth consists mainly in skilful manipulation of the resources which the Community has stored out of its own endless experience in the past, and has brought under the direction and control of the organization which it has delicately and laboriously perfected. There is no moment at which the Capitalist is not relying on the vast system of Co-operating forces, on whose assistance he can confidently calculate, and which his every need and wish have at their immediate command.

### CO-OPERATION INCREASES THE POWER OF THE INDIVIDUAL TO COMPETE.

His own direct motive in the action that he takes may be purely competitive. And, in old days, we used to imagine that this individual and competitive element in the act could be isolated, so that a man might claim it as his own, and have clear right to exclude anybody else from interfering with what was his own business for which he was responsible to himself alone. But now we know that, as so isolated, we are dealing with a mere intellectual abstraction, which can never pass into concrete and real existence.

For, in concrete reality, as we have seen, the man's act is never solitary. His power to compete assumes from first to last an immense world of Co-operative forces, organized for his use, and built up into an Industrial and Social Body. Social Co-operation is the ground on which alone this far-reaching Competition can rest. In Co-operation it discovers its fulcrum, its base, its weapons, its range, its mechanism, its potentialities. Society at large gives the individual the vantage from which he can afford to compete, and also the enormous area of possibilities over which his ingenuity can make play. It places its swift and complete correlation of capacities entirely under his orders to minister to his wants.

"Thousands at his bidding speed,  
And post o'er land and ocean without rest."

And who these are he can never know, and need, so far as his business goes, never ask.

To protect him in his work, to secure him in his gains, Society has framed a large Body of Law; and it keeps, at

vast expense, a Judicial System that shall preserve for him his right to free activity in his own interest, as well as a host of Police who will be at his service to ward off perils and to preserve his goods in safety.

### CAPITAL IS A SOCIAL CREATION.

There is not an act of his, then, which Society has not accompanied, shared, authorized, enriched, enforced. There is no possible disentangling of his own private act from the social web in which it is immeshed. There is no spot, in the Commercial Process, on which he can take his stand, and declare, "Here, I am alone. No other human being has part or lot with what I do. I am sole and independent. The cause, the force, the effect, of this particular act are all my own; and I answer for myself, and I am responsible to myself, and to no other." Always, he is the organ through which the Community is acting. Always, he is releasing powers which the Community has accumulated. Always, he is bringing into use tools which the Community has fashioned and supplied. Always, he is taking advantage of the organization which the Community has framed and perfected. Always, he is assuming a swarm of subtle services which the Community places ready to his hand. Always, he is setting in motion the manifold labours of others to work out his own behest. Always, he is starting effects which pass away, through incalculable vibrations, into the nervous tissue of the Body Politic. He is a living duct through which the stored energies of an entire Society pass and repass. In every motion that he evokes, he identifies himself with the Community, which he actualizes and embodies.

And how, then, is it conceivable that he should be able to deny to the Community its right to demand that this activity of his, which he draws from it and spends through it, should conform to its general welfare and fall within the scope of its control?

This is why Public Law is morally justified in claiming control over Capital.

Public Law is the expression of the Community's Will over ground which the Community holds and occupies. And, in this case, Capital is its creation. The Individual who competes is its own creature. He, in exercising his individual capacities, does so under social permission, as clothed upon with authority from the State, and as entitled, under that authority, to take

as much advantage as he can of the opportunities laid open to him by the State. Without it he could not have moved a finger. Without its security he could not have set out on his venture. Without its protection he would have had no liberty. Without its resources he could have done nothing. His privileges, if he has any, are of its making. This is why he holds his wealth subject to the supreme control of such Legislation as the Community considers necessary to secure its own well-being. He has used the Community's assistance throughout. He cannot repudiate its claim to be intimately concerned with all that he does. The Community is the common term under which Capital and Labour find their organic unity.

Or, again, we can arrive at the same conclusion from a consideration of the close inter-correlation which knits the entire mass of individual activities into a single organic Whole. Industries are no longer worked side by side, as it were, in independent localities. They have been fused into a common system of Exchange. Not only do their processes overlap, not only do half a dozen separate Industries combine to make a single product, but through the highly-organized condition of Finance, Capital passes to and fro with a liquid ease and freedom. It is like a sensitive mass pressing for outlet. It flows in and flows out, transferring itself from Industry to Industry, according to the swift shifting of opportunities, following the line of least resistance like running water, adapting itself to each varying scale and mood of the market, acting everywhere at once, feeling changes of temperature with the speed of a barometer, ever seeking to fix a new equilibrium of forces according to the turn of ever-varying conditions. Each Industry is conscious of the effects of all other Industries. Week by week the Central Clearing-House readjusts the books of the entire Body of our Commerce. Transactions attain a balance. A fresh equilibrium is certified. Day by day, hour by hour, minute by minute, the Stock Exchange of the world notes, and names, and manipulates, the minutest indication of the direction in which changes will appear and operations assume fresh momentum. Capital is a live thing. It is an Organism that breathes and acts. It has a mind of its own; it is all but ensouled. The Banks are its brain. It puts out nerves along all the lines of its Investments. It responds to every pressure of the environment. It has the coherence and consistency of a body. And its outlook is immense. It has its eyes over all the face of the earth. The world is its parish.



And how, then, is it possible for any one man to put down his stake in this enormous venture without finding himself at once immeshed in a whole web of relationships and responsibilities? How is he to hope to play his own little game in and with it? How can he expect to sit by the side of it and stick in his thumb and pull out a plum and walk off with it, like little Jack Horner? How can he pretend to be minding his own business, and to have the right to do so undisturbed? His business is everybody's business, and everybody's business is his. There must, inevitably, be a whole fabric of Common Law under the sway of which he has passed from the moment that he took action inside this world's market and mingled his own Capital with the universal currents of this big Finance. He can only be there at all as engaged in an adventure in which an innumerable crowd of other men is involved. He falls under stringent obligations. His activity must conform to the common and incalculable Rule.

And whence issues this Social Law which determines the common Rule? What is the authority from which it is derived?

It cannot be from Capital itself, for Capital is only an abstraction. Capital is only half of the concrete fact. Capital is meaningless, except in relation to Labour. And both Capital and Labour coexist in one Community. The men who manipulate Capital are of one social body with the men who help to create the Capital by their Labour. Capital itself is in a very real sense congealed Labour. Capital is for ever passing back into Labour, and Labour transmuting itself into Capital. The same man may be both Labourer and Capitalist. The two sides of a single fact are inseparable. They can be detached for analysis, for the sake of intellectual distinction, but, in reality, they both together constitute one identical existence.

And no Community, therefore, could allow one abstract section to legislate for itself, or to treat itself as separate and independent. To do so would be to divide a living creature in half. It would be death.

The Community which exists out of this correlation of Capital and Labour cannot but set itself to retain and to assert the union in which both find themselves interpreted and justified. The Community has the moral right to demand that the Rules and Regulations under which Capital does its work are such as recognize the essential interest of that



Labour which is its correlative, and the permanent welfare of the Body Corporate, of which both Labour and Capital are co-ordinated functions.

### THE ECONOMIC POWER OF PRIVATE TRUSTS MAY BE USED TO THE PUBLIC DETRIMENT.

It is at this point that we can understand why the State should regard powerful Trusts as a challenge, or a menace, to its healthy life. The Trust is, no doubt, in itself an evidence of the immense economic advantage gained by a collective treatment of Industry. It illustrates the inevitable trend of Trade away from the waste involved in the minute and unlimited competition of individuals, towards the co-operation of Federated Industries. But the very greatness of its Economic advantages constitutes its peril to the common interest. For it represents a successful attempt by Capital to secure monopolies of a sufficient size, or over a sufficient area, to enable it to become completely independent of any other interest or any other control than its own. By cancelling Competition, it saves itself the effort of meeting those incessant corrective reactions which the presence of the general Society around it perpetually enforces. It escapes those modifications from within which the influx of counter-influences would naturally effect. It becomes its own master. It need consult no one but itself. It holds Labour in the hollow of its hand through its immense combination of forces. It may act beneficently if it chooses; but all this is as it chooses. It may, on the other hand, use its tremendous power to make a ring of Corn, or Cotton, or Oil, regardless of public welfare, determined only by its own independent interest. If it does this, it will do it solely by use of the entire machinery and authority of the State on its own behalf. It will appeal to the State Police to secure it against the protests of Labour. It will rest its entire activity on the fulcrum supplied it by the State organization of Tariffs and by the State Legislation on matters of Industry or Finance. The State may, at any moment, see itself compelled to place its whole power at the disposal of a vast Corporation, acting solely on its own independent behalf, unchecked and uncontrolled, dead against the well-being of Society.

Such a possibility is intolerable. No honourable State could lend itself to the service of an "Imperium" which uses the State's own Organization to make itself a Power outside

the direction, or supervision, or control of the State. Capital, which exists only by permission of the State, cannot be suffered to free itself from the obligations which its very existence has already so inevitably created towards the entire Society of which it is the product.

## THE LAW OF THE COMMUNITY RESTORES TO CAPITAL AND LABOUR THEIR MORAL AND INTEGRAL CORRESPONDENCE.

Again, we can arrive by another approach at the same certitude.

Capital and Labour, which together constitute a single concrete fact, are, by the violent pressure of present circumstances, too often forced out of living touch with one another. They suffer divorce. It is true that, under favourable circumstances, Capital and Labour can come together by voluntary agreement without the need of State intervention. There are modes of Co-Partnership which attain this end successfully. There are Agreements between Federations and Unions, which establish permanent relations. There is the wide expansion of Co-operative Industry to prove what can be done. All such efforts are of inestimable value.

But over an enormous area of our Industry the circumstances which admit of such voluntary cohesion do not exist. The set of things is running dead counter to this possibility. First, Capital, in its joint-stock form, has delocalized itself. It may exist everywhere or anywhere. The Shareholders in the Company are a scattered multitude, unknown to one another, without any tangible or visible coherence. They constitute the employers; to them belong all the employers' responsibilities; the Directors are merely their representative agents. But then these employers are totally unaware who and where those whom they employ are. The Labour which at once creates, and is created by, their Capital, is out of their sight, out of their horizon, out of their ken. No human relationship springs up between them. Their obligation towards those whose work they exploit can never take any real form or clothe itself in flesh and blood. How can the Shareholders ever come into living contact with the nameless masses who toil for them? They live at a hopeless distance from the scene of their labour. There are no opportunities that can ever draw them together. They cannot form any estimate of what is going on in the dim recesses of the dark labour world, where the engines clang, and

the looms whiz, and the furnaces blaze, and the chimneys belch flames. They cannot take the measure of what is right, or what is wrong, they cannot follow the processes, or judge what is fair, or examine the conditions, or know what profit they have the right to take. The world, by whose sweat they live, is far away out of the range of their experience. It lies in displaced hordes dropped down in strange places far from the homes where it was bred—uncounted, ungathered, uncited; spread out in sprawling suburbs, or on blank marshes at the back of our great towns. It is left to itself. It knows and sees nothing of those with whose fortunes it is so intimately concerned. There is no intercourse between the two correlative halves of the same fact. No communications pass between these associated worlds; no human touch makes them akin.

How, then, are the bonds which would bind them together to be woven? How is their intimate relationship to realize itself in equity and truth?

Once again, it is Legislation which alone can cover the ground and bridge the gulf.

Law can reach from the far homes of scattered Shareholders to the hidden swarms on whose labour they depend and for whose lives they are answerable.

Law can see what they owe to those who serve them. Law can enable them to fulfil the obligations which, if they knew how, they would surely desire to discharge.

Law can secure that the conditions of labour in every remote Factory and Workshop are such as humanity would imperatively require.

Law can give to Capital the eyes to see what its duty is.

Law is the expression of that social conscience which alone justifies Capital in existing. Capital, by itself, in the form of joint-stock Companies, has no means of exerting this conscience. It has no moral organ. Its Directorates are forbidden by their very nature from considering anything but the interests of the Companies whose servants they are.

Some Power outside itself must step in to supply to Capital the moral nexus in its relation to Labour. It must be a Power which holds together in its wide embrace all the relationships under which Capital and Labour are co-ordinated.

This Power is the State. The State has the moral right to assert this jurisdiction over Capital because without it Capital is divorced from its proper responsibilities. It works in

abstraction from Labour. And this is an unnatural and immoral condition. It traverses the first principles of concrete life in which Capital and Labour form the twin constituents of a single fact. The control of modern Capital in the last resort by the National Law is, therefore, essential to the very existence of Society as a concrete whole.

The case has been rested on its Economic Principles without any special reference to the Christian Code of Conduct; and this has been done just because we are all learning, at last, that Political Economy "takes account of Ethical forces,"<sup>1</sup> and looks to an end that is socially and morally desirable. It includes, in its purview, the whole man so far as he is an economic agent; and exhibits, by sheer criticism of the resultant facts, the influences and motives which tell upon him. Christianity accepts this scientific verdict, whatever it be; and so learns, from the expert evidence of the professors of the Science, what its actual conduct results in, and how these results may be bettered. It does not profess to have a Political Economy of its own; but it holds fast by broad Ethical Laws, convinced that Political Economy, by being true to its scientific limitations,<sup>2</sup> will, on its own field and by its own methods, justify their action.

In the present case the Economic conclusions reached issue directly out of the moral relationships which actually hold between Capital and the Society which makes Capital possible. And, if so, it is enough to state them, in order to ensure their sanction under the Christian Code and their recommendation to the Christian Conscience.

<sup>1</sup> "Ethical forces are among those of which the economist has to take account."—Professor Marshall, *Prin. of Econ.*, vol. i, p. 1.

<sup>2</sup> "It is not the function of a science to lay down practical precepts or to prescribe rules of life. The laws of economics, as of other sciences, are couched in the indicative, and not in the imperative mood: they are statements as to the effects produced by different causes, singly or in combination; they are not rules ready for immediate application in practical politics. . . . Economic laws and reasonings, in fact, are merely a part of the material which Conscience and Common-sense have to turn to solving practical problems, and in laying down rules which may be a guide in life."—*Ibid.* pp. 89, vi.



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CHRISTIANITY AND  
SOCIALISM       =       =

BY       =       =       =       =       =       =  
CHARLES GORE, D.D., D.C.L., LL.D.  
BISHOP OF BIRMINGHAM       =       =       =

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# CHRISTIANITY AND SOCIALISM

BY

CHARLES GORE, D.D., D.C.L., LL.D.

BISHOP OF BIRMINGHAM

## SOCIALISM, STRICTLY CONSIDERED

SOCIALISM, in its strict sense, describes a certain economic theory, viz., that for the present system of private capital should be substituted collective ownership by the State or community of all the instruments of production, i.e., land and capital in all forms. At present, land, factories, and capital generally belong, not indeed wholly but in the main, to private owners or combinations of private owners; and the labourer is dependent for employment and subsistence upon the private owners; and their competition to enrich themselves largely determines the conditions of employment. For this system the Socialist would substitute collective ownership of all that constitutes capital, of all the sources and instruments of production and distribution, by the State or community, in the equal interest of all—with an equal obligation upon all of co-operative labour, and claim by all upon the produce of labour, according to whatever principle of distribution may be considered just and expedient. In the socialistic community there would be no distinction of employers and employed. The community would be the sole employer, and the members of the community would be its salaried servants.

Such is the essence of the various socialistic theories : and remote as the establishment of any fully socialistic State may at the present moment be, the ideal is so prominently before the minds of men, and there is so much aspiration in this direction, that Christianity is bound to consider its relation to the socialistic idea.

Our present object is not to discuss whether State Socialism is practicable : it is to consider what attitude Christianity must adopt towards it supposing it practicable.

There are, of course, various degrees or kinds of Socialism. And we may clear the ground by some preliminary distinctions. Thus :

1. There are Socialists who would treat men as members of the State and nothing else. They would destroy the family, and the bond of indissoluble marriage ; and make the breeding and rearing of children a purely State function. Christianity can, of course, only wage war against such a Socialism. It must claim that man is something besides a member of a State. It must claim the (practical) liberty of the family relation and family life.

2. Many Socialists, making the State all in all, would seem to refuse liberty for the development of religion, or art, or science, or knowledge, except so far as the State might recognize its usefulness and support its votaries. All men must be State-employés and nothing else. This would hideously dwarf and enslave human life. But it is quite compatible with the main theory of Socialism to allow men to exist in the State who are not State officials or employés, but are pursuing ends not regulated by the State, as artists, or writers, or teachers, or ministers of religion ; so long as there were other men, labouring for the State, who were prepared to maintain them, as they do at present, with a share of their earnings. Thus a socialistic State is compatible with voluntary associations, and officers

for such associations, existing to enlarge or develop the life of man in ways not brought within the cognizance of the State. Here again Christianity must stand jealously for human liberty against the narrowness and materialism of much socialistic theory.

3. Many Socialists use "levelling" language about equal wages and equal education for all—language which seems to ignore the vast inequalities of faculty, and considerable inequalities of need, among men. The manager, the organizer, the thinker, the teacher, the high official, have needs in the way of leisure, house room, etc., which the ordinary worker has not. And the wellbeing of society depends upon the exceptional man being given the opportunity to realize his exceptional faculty.

But Socialism as a theory is not bound up with hostility to the Christian idea of marriage, or with materialistic narrowness, or the ignoring of the conditions of free personal development. And leaving aside for the moment those tendencies which often accompany Socialism, but are not to be identified with it, and concerning myself only with the socialistic theory strictly considered, I would lay it down that, on the one hand, there is nothing in the socialistic idea of the constitution of society which is antagonistic to Christianity, and that its main idea is closely allied to the Christian idea; but that, on the other hand, Christianity must remain independent; as of other organizations of society, so also of State Socialism. For Christianity is to work in all stages of social organization, finding itself more in harmony with one than with another—but in all alike inspiring men with the consciousness and power of divine sonship and human brotherhood, in the spirit of Jesus of Nazareth, by means and methods which are always distinct from, or ought always to be distinct from, the political and social organization in which for the time it finds itself engaged.



If a socialistic State should be organized, or come into working existence, it will need, as much as any previous stage of society, the pressure within it of the independent Christian forces : for no system or organization of industry will of itself ensure justice and brotherhood. There may be "sweating" in a co-operative workshop or a municipal or State industrial undertaking. Moreover, a properly socialistic society would make a far deeper demand on character than most of its advocates seem to realize. It may be true that "collectivism" would remove many of the temptations to selfishness and corruption which at present tarnish our political and social life ; but it will substitute other temptations quite as perilous. It is not too much to say that an experiment in State Socialism, based on the average level of human character as it exists at present, would be doomed to disastrous failure ; and, even if the average level of character should gradually rise with the new conditions, still it is quite certain that the tendency to mediocrity or materialism in the collectivist State would be very obvious ; and the "salt" which Christianity can supply in the way of motives to unselfishness, and self-sacrifice, and personal purity ; to unworldly devotion and spiritual zeal ; to enthusiasm and love for God and for man, including the men and women who are weak and diseased and socially useless, would be as much needed as in any state of society known or conceivable in our present world.

### THE MOTIVES OF SOCIALISM

At present the system of private capital has been considerably modified in the direction of collectivism. Municipal and State ownership, municipal and State industries, are in existence, and the area of such collectivist industry is increasing. But we have no socialistic State in existence, or near to coming into existence. What we have is a great body of aspiration towards Socialism, more or less vaguely conceived, and legisla-

tive measures being passed or contemplated under the pressure of this socialistic tendency. This is a great force actually at work in the present. The future—whereunto all this will grow—is uncertain, and the expected does not generally happen. But the present movement is an undoubted fact, and with the motives and aspirations of this “current Socialism” Christianity is very virtually concerned, for they are ethical, and involve a certain idea of human brotherhood.

The socialistic movement is based upon a great demand for justice in human life. It notes the injustice in the actual division of the profits of industry, both present and inherited. It notes the enormous wealth, and aimless luxury, and reckless expenditure upon amusement and display at the “West End” of cities; and towards the other end of the social scale the vast and monotonous areas of workmen’s houses in which labour is gaining a bare and precarious subsistence, passing down into abject poverty and unemployment, oppressed by the sense of powerlessness and hopelessness. It notes the multitude of men and women, lads and girls, whose lives are dwarfed and stunted by unhappy conditions, and who are without any real prospect of making the best of their faculties. It notes the hopeless prospect of old age; and the awful disproportion between the infant mortality in the rich and poor districts of great cities. Again, it notes the decay of the country life; the land in few hands; the great houses with the luxurious “week ends” and shooting-parties, with the bitter contrast of poverty and hopelessness in the dwindling population of agricultural labourers. It may be said that in the picture, drawn in such lurid colours, much is left out and much ignored that ought to be considered. But when all that can legitimately modify the picture has been introduced, the contrast remains real and startling enough. The indictment of our present social organization is indeed overwhelming.

And with the indictment Christianity ought to have the profoundest sympathy. It is substantially the indictment of the prophets. They lived in an age when the land of Israel was passing from the peasant proprietors to the great owners, who "added house to house and field to field"; when direct access to the soil, the chief capital of the country, was thus passing into few hands; when labour was becoming dependent, and was being exploited and sweated by its masters. Thus there was luxury at one end of society and poverty at the other. And the denunciation of this state of society is their constant and almost monotonous theme. God, they proclaim and insist, is on the side of the poor. He is the God of the helpless. To exact labour without paying a sufficient wage to the labourer is to offend God. Luxury and the accumulation of property is denounced, while manual labour is held in honour. The prophets are content to present the broad picture, with its broad contrasts, without qualifying considerations; and they claim that God's will must be done: that the law of justice must be practically recognized: or that God will judge and punish His people for the injustice of society. This is at first their main theme. And if personal religion, as in the Psalms, tends to take a more prominent place in Jewish teaching, it does not override the social aspect of religion. "For the comfortless troubles' sake of the needy, and because of the deep sighing of the poor, I will up, saith the Lord." (*Ps.* xii. 5.)

Broadly, then, in the struggle of the rich and the poor, though doubtless then as now the faults were not only on the side of the rich, the prophets of Israel are on the side of the poor.

When our Lord came, He moved about freely among rich and poor, teaching men by word and example that God was their Father, and all they were brethren, teaching them to live neighbourly and brotherly one with another. He did not

shrink from intercourse with the rich, or from the imputation brought by such free intercourse—that He was “a gluttonous man and a winebibber, the friend of publicans and sinners”; but it is impossible to deny that His sympathy was with the poor; that He was on the side of the poor; that His warnings and denunciations are mainly directed against wealth, and the desire of wealth, and the love of the power which comes with wealth and position; and that He could see no life weakened and depressed by the selfishness of power and wealth without indignation.

Now, in our present social organization, with all its manifest “crushing” of weak lives, and “grinding of the faces of the poor,” where has been the fire of prophetic indignation in the Church, which yet exists to represent Christ and the Bible? It has found occasional expression through individual Churchmen, or groups of Churchmen, a Lord Shaftesbury, a Maurice, a Kingsley, a Westcott, and others still living. Committees of Lambeth Conferences, or Convocations of the clergy have issued more or less courageous utterances on social subjects. But how utterly, on the whole, has the official Church, or the main body of the Church, failed to exhibit the prophetic spirit!

This, then, is the first great claim we make upon the Church to-day: that it should make a tremendous act of penitence for having failed so long and on so wide a scale to behave as the champion of the oppressed and the weak: for having tolerated what it ought not to have tolerated: for having so often been on the wrong side. And the penitence must lead to reparation while there is yet time, ere the well-merited judgements of God take all weapons of social influence out of our hands.

There are two pleas in extenuation of our blindness which may be briefly noted:

I. “We have administered much charitable relief. We have tried hard as a Church to pick up the sick and wounded in the

social struggle." This is quite true; and it is something. But all observers are agreed as to the ineffectiveness on a large scale of our "ambulance work." And, what is much more important, the Christian Church was created to be no mere ambulance corps, but the organ of the kingdom of God in the world; the power of positive and militant righteousness; the vindicator and defender of the weak; the irresistible foe of oppression and injustice. And how vast has been our failure!

2. "We were but paying a respectful attention to the political economy which warned us off from trying to interfere with the laws of supply and demand, or with the individual's liberty to sell his labour for what he could get for it in the open market." But why did we prefer the voice of the economists, or sometimes the voice of those who misinterpreted the economist, to the voice of the prophets and of Christ on a matter which is after all primarily a moral question? Why did we refuse to believe the voices of the prophets which told us in plain language that a sweated industry was an iniquity in God's sight, and that the first charge upon industry is the proper payment of the labourer? Why were we so slow to listen to those who would have encouraged us still to trust the voice of Christ—whether it were Maurice or Kingsley within the Church or Carlyle or Ruskin without it? For the study of economic laws and tendencies let us have nothing but respect. But let us be sure that what we are studying is really economic law. Now the wheel of economic science has turned round, and we are left to discover either that we misunderstood the economists or that their economic doctrine was mistaken.

We have, then, no effective plea to advance against the accusation that the Church as a body failed to champion the cause of the weak and the oppressed. Our only present plea is effective repentance. We must identify ourselves with the great impeachment of our present industrial system. We must refuse



to acquiesce in it. But more than this, we must identify ourselves, because we are Christians, with the positive ethical ideal of socialistic thought.

### THE ETHICAL IDEAL OF SOCIALISM

Broadly we may contrast two ideals of society: the one which is called individualism—which is based upon the right of the individual, which is apt practically, in the long run, to mean the right of the strong—and the other which is called Socialism (in the general sense), which is based on the idea that the society and the interest of the society, and all its members, is supreme over the individual. Doubtless these two ideals are both abstract and require modification. The free ethical development of the individual is necessary for the welfare of society, and the society which refuses to allow scope for free individual development will defeat its own ends. Doubtless also different elements in social development require emphasis at different times. But the two ideals remain. And Dr. Westcott was surely right in maintaining that on the whole Christianity is with Socialism, and not individualism: that is to say, the Christian ideal represents men as members of a body bound, from first to last, to have regard to the interests of others equally with their own—bound, every one of them, to labour and to service. It would have men honoured, not in virtue of how much they have made for themselves, but how much they have contributed to the common good. It would bind men to regard all their faculties and acquisitions as a trust for the whole community. It would pledge men, as members of one body, to acknowledge the weakness or suffering of any single member as the weakness or suffering of all.

Positively, then, the Christian thinker and preacher, captain of industry and worker, politician and voter, must labour to substitute, through the whole fabric of our ideas and our

practical system, this idea of social obligation and fellowship, for the mere assertion of individual liberty, and of the rights of property, on which we have been accustomed to base our social system.

The day may come when a legitimate individualism will be imperilled. At present it is a rampant and excessive individualism which has to be brought under the control of the community and of the common interest. And with the spirit of this socializing movement the Christian must be altogether in sympathy.

It will affect his duty as an individual—as worker, capitalist, employer, and consumer. Thus as worker he will acknowledge, neither in himself nor in any man, the right to be idle. As a capitalist or employer he will accept it as “the fundamental Christian principle of the remuneration of labour that the first charge upon any industry must be proper maintenance of the labourer—an idea which it has been sought to express in popular language by the phrase, “the living wage.” As a consumer he will acknowledge “that no Christian has a right to demand commodities at a price which he knows, or can ascertain, to be incompatible with the adequate remuneration of the worker and proper conditions of industry.”

But the mere individual is powerless by himself, or by any merely voluntary association, to alter what is amiss. For the support of the individual the ideal must be also in great measure embodied in the law. Thus the Christian must be on the side of the social law, so far as the law goes at present; and as citizen, and as himself sharing in public work, must give it his energetic and intelligent support. At present most Churchmen or Churchwomen have—as the membership of our public bodies would show—a very feeble sense of their duty as citizens. (In particular, to mention one point only, our district visitors and other Church workers might do much to help the State and city

if they were better instructed in the rudiments of industrial and sanitary law.)

Lastly, the Christian must not be content with our law as it stands; he must co-operate vigorously with all men of good will for legislative reform. "It is time, we think, that the Christian conscience of the country voted urgency among Parliamentary and municipal questions for all the group of problems which concern the grossly unequal distribution of wealth and wellbeing; the waste of life and capacity through lack of proper nourishment and training; the sweating of women's and children's labour; the deficiency, in the surroundings of so many, of those things which are the ordinary essentials of physical and moral wellbeing."<sup>1</sup>

In thus claiming that the Christian should, because he is a Christian, co-operate with the ideal which men like Dr. Westcott have called Socialist, it is not, of course, intended that Christians or Churchmen should tie themselves to any one political party, or should behave as partisans of any one economic doctrine. Nor is it intended to deny that men may hold the Socialist ideal, in the general sense, as Dr. Westcott held it, and still differ among themselves as to how far, or on what lines, the legislative power of the State can be invoked, without impairing the sense of individual initiative and individual responsibility. But we do intend to assert that there is in Christianity a fundamental ideal of social life which has indeed its first application in the life of the Church, but has also its further application in the organization of the State, so far as the nation can either be claimed as a Christian nation or shows itself ready to acknowledge the moral and social ideals of Christianity. And we do further intend to assert that this

<sup>1</sup> The quotations are from the *Moral Witness of the Church on Economic Subjects*. Convocation of Canterbury, 1st Report of Joint Committee, pp. 5-7.

fundamentally Christian ideal of society places us broadly in sympathy, if not necessarily with the economic programme of Socialism, at least with its general aim and motive. The moral teaching of the New Testament is trenchant and consistent. "This we commanded you, if any will not work, neither let him eat." "Having food and covering we shall be therewith content. But they that desire to be rich fall into a temptation and a snare and many foolish and hurtful lusts, such as drown men in destruction and perdition. For the love of money is a root of all kinds of evil." "God tempered the body (the social organism of Christianity) together . . . that there should be no schism in the body ; but that the members should have the same care one for another. And whether one member suffereth, all the members suffer with it ; or one member is honoured, all the members rejoice with it."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 2 Thess. iii. 10 ; 1 Tim. vi. 8-10 ; 1 Cor. xii. 24-26.

[These brief notes were written to assist discussion at the Pan-Anglican Congress, 1908. The treatment which they give of a great subject is very partial and inadequate. They were intended to be only one of many contributions.]





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# WOMEN'S TRADES UNIONS

BY

GERTRUDE M. TUCKWELL

OF all evils low wage is the greatest which besets the industrial worker, particularly the woman worker.<sup>1</sup> The struggle of the old in the labour market, the overwork of the children, the divorce between the mother and the home, which leads to a high infantile death-rate; all these things are mainly due to insufficient wage. The goodness of the poor to the poor is proverbial. Pressure must be overwhelming which forces the mother to leave her little ones to hired care, or to drive the children too early to work in street, or home, or mill. Question a woman, and she replies with unanswerable logic, "They had better work than starve." So, bounded only by human capacity for endurance, the struggle for life goes on.

## What is our position in the matter?

Theoretically, we are prepared to admit that a Christian State cannot be based on the suffering and degradation of women and children.

Practically, we are confronted with the difficulty of seeing what we can do to help.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The average rate of women's wages is only about half that for men; and in the "sweated" trades women are the worst sufferers, often earning only 5/- a week, or less.

<sup>2</sup> To some extent Parliament regulates wages by requiring all its contractors to pay the standard rates current in the various trades; and has also begun to fix wages for some of the worst "sweated" trades by means of Trades Boards. But, for the most part, the precise settlement of wages from time to time, in view of the general economic conditions, represents a bargain between the organized forces of capital and labour.

On the one hand is the employer needing labour.  
 On the other the worker, with labour to sell.  
 Here is the basis for a bargain.

**The amount of wage the worker can obtain depends on the bargain he or she can drive.**

Now the power to drive a successful bargain depends on the power to hold out till good terms can be obtained. What power of holding out has the individual woman worker? The employer has capital, and can afford to wait. The woman worker is without resources; she is dependent on her daily work for daily subsistence; to her cessation of work means accumulation of debt, possibly starvation. Here is no fair bargain possible.

**How, then, is the women workers' position to be so strengthened that bargaining can become a reality?**

The answer lies in the union of the scattered workers by organization, and the accumulation of their individual slender resources into a common fund. Corporate action will gain concessions where the individual would be helpless.

**Trade Unionism gives the power to bargain.**

It is no light thing we ask of women workers in calling on them to combine.

How can these bewildered and scattered lives be grouped?

How can the lessons of Trade Unionism, which are those of rigid discipline, sacrifice for the common good, and long patience to gain an ultimate reward, be taught to those whose cramped horizon is bounded by their daily needs?

**The answer is that it has been done. Women Trade Unionists are now more than 200,000.**

In their great textile organization in the United Kingdom, women have won a standard wage; and, though with less complete combination, there are, throughout the country, Unions in women's trades which have raised their rates of wages, or prevented reduction by joint action. Again and

again strikes have been averted by the power of bargaining which combination gives.

Patient work has earned this reward.

All told men and women trade unionists number over two million. Out of the funds they have built up, only 14·6 per cent. is spent in trade disputes. The great bulk is spent in "benefits." The better wage and higher standard of life they have achieved have promoted our national efficiency, and helped us to compete successfully in the markets of the world. It is to their agency we owe the best enforcement of our industrial laws.

### **There remains much to be done.**

First, among the people themselves, by every club and settlement, by every worker among the people, the ideals of Trade Unionism can be taught, so that apathy and acquiescence may be stirred to appreciation of the good to be wrought by fellowship and common effort. Those also, for whom home ties make such work impossible, have practical work to do. Having grasped the essential character of Trade Unionism for themselves, let them see that none around them remain unconvinced. So they will help to keep alive a healthy public opinion, and the atmosphere in which industrial reform can thrive and grow.

It is not enough that thought and work should be given to this question by economists and students of industrial life alone. The work and thought of the whole body of Christians is needed. In present industrial conditions Trade Unionism is essential, nor can its claims be summed better than in words written long ago: "Two are better than one; because they have a good reward for their labour. For if they fall, the one will lift up his fellow: but woe to him that is alone when he falleth; for he hath not another to help him up." (*Eccles. iv. 9, 10.*)

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Information as to Women's Trade Unions will be supplied by Miss Macarthur, Women's Trade Union League, 34 Mecklenburgh Square, London, W.C.

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